











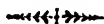


# ESSAY

ON THE

## COLONIZATION OF HINDOOSTHAN

By East Indians.



WITH

### *AN APPENDIX,*

ON THE PRESENT MODE OF AGRICULTURE AMONG  
THE ABORIGINES.



BY

C. A. FENWICK.

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## P R E F A C E.



THE Author's distance from the press having obliged him to transfer the supervision of the publication to the Editor, he feels himself called upon, in sending the ensuing Essay into the world, to annex a few remarks, by way of explanation of certain points connected with it.

It is now more or less two years since the intention of publishing the Essay in question was announced—a delay which may seem to some to render an apology indispensable; but the Editor is sorry that he has none in his power to offer, but what will appear to some unnecessary, and to others unsatisfactory. All that he has to say on this head may be summarily expressed in the few words,—that the circumstances which occasioned the delay were such as

were not either in his own power or that of the Author to control. He may, however, be permitted to assure the reader, that this long lapse of time has not been altogether unserviceable to the Essay, as it has enabled the Author to make some valuable additions to it.

As Mr. Ricketts has anticipated, or rather, to use a familiar phrase, has stumbled upon, several ideas contained in the Essay above mentioned, it may not be improper to state, that the similarity in question has originated, not from plagiarism, but simply from the nature of the subjects handled by the Author and Mr. R. ; and it will be remarked, that the plans delineated in the two pamphlets essentially differ from each other. In fact, it is difficult to say what Mr. R.'s plan is. The Editor cannot see but what after all it may end in a matter of " private enterprise."

If the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru is right in the explanation he has given of Mr.

R.'s plan in the following passage, whether it is likely in any material manner to benefit the body of East Indians, it certainly is not what is advocated in the succeeding Essay ; and which of the two plans is the most patriotic, philanthropic, desirable, or feasible, it is submitted to the judgment of the discerning and candid reader. Speaking of Mr. R.'s scheme, the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru says: " It is, in so far as we can understand it, to establish a joint stock association, composed of twenty, fifty, a hundred or more shareholders, and with the joint capital to carry on some extensive joint concern in the Mofussil, *as an example to East Indians of what may be done in the interior, and by way of exciting them to turn their steps to the paths of industry in that quarter*, instead of confining themselves to the narrow sphere of Calcutta." If this, I say, be a correct statement of Mr. R.'s plan, it will at once be seen, that it differs from the one recom-



mended in the succeeding Essay. But Mr. R. rejects the explanation, as giving his plan too much the character of a *private enterprise*, and insists on the patriotism of it, which, he is pleased to think, gives it all its value. No doubt it would have done, could the patriotism of his plan be discovered ; but we have searched for it in vain in his pamphlet, unless, which is rather problematical, it be the case that it is intended by Mr. R. and his associates to afford, with the lack of rupees which is to be raised, the means of independent employment to a number of East Indians in the Mofussil : but then it must be in a less precarious line than commerce, otherwise there is very little reason to believe that it will succeed.

The main object with the East Indians should be, to devise some means which will embrace the benefit of the largest number possible of their community, and give them a permanency of footing in the country. The Editor cannot see how this can be

done, but by acquiring a permanent interest in the soil, by the acquisition of landed property, and its improvement by the cultivation of such things as will be a source of present maintenance and ultimate opulence. This must be the foundation of East Indian prosperity ; and this he knows to be the opinion of some Europeans of long standing in the country, whose names, were he permitted to mention, would impart all the weight desirable to the suggestion. Mr. Ricketts, the Editor is sure, deserves well of his countrymen for having their welfare so much at heart ; but until he lay more distinctly down his plan, it cannot, of course, with propriety, be recommended for adoption. The Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru has also recommended a scheme for the amelioration of East Indians, which, with Mr. Kyd's suggestions, deserve consideration ; but the Editor has no room to spare for the purpose.

Should another edition of the Essay be called for, the Editor is permitted to assure

the public, that no pains will be spared to add to its value, by more information respecting the localities, and agricultural and commercial facilities of the country. It is earnestly hoped, that the Essay, in its present form, will not be found undeserving of the attention of East Indians ; and that it will not fail, in some measure, to conduce to the end aimed at in it, viz. of turning the close, serious, earnest, and candid attention of the East Indians to the necessity, practicability, and advantages of the colonization of Hindoosthan by them.

THE EDITOR.

N. B. Communications on the subject, addressed to the Author at Sylhet, will be thankfully received.

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AN ESSAY, &c,



It should appear reasonable to suppose, that the affairs of India ought to occupy the minds, and have a prominent place in the hearts of those, who, next to the aborigines, have the strongest claims to the benefits so largely derivable from its soil and articles of trade and manufacture ; but serious must the disappointment of the lover of his country be, who, when he comes to enquire into the thing, finds, that instead of it, a most culpable indifference manifestly prevails, nearly throughout the whole body of the East Indians ; and that so few know any thing of a country in which they were born and brought up, and in which alone all their future hopes as a numerous people centre !

It is to be feared, that few of them could satisfactorily answer the question, What is there in the chief concerns of India, that ought to interest them most, and call forth their best energies into exercise ? It cannot be denied, that various things of considerable importance engage the attention of

some of them, and to accomplish and further which, commensurate efforts *are* made by them ; but it may be questioned, whether those things have a tendency to promote their future welfare as a people. To notice but one instance. The existence of the “ Oriental Literary Society ” is well known. Its plan, as far as I can learn from its proceedings, is to meet together once a week for the purpose of discussing extemporaneously the subject previously given out ; from which, if I may be permitted to conjecture, its object would appear to be, to form either private or public speakers. As far as it regards intellectual improvement, it must be admitted to possess some importance ; but circumstanced as the East Indians are, eligible only to inferior offices under Government, and those requiring no oratorical talents to fill them with credit, whatever importance may be allowed to it, it is far from being equal in importance to those of a nature tending to promote their domestic comforts, and extend their national rights\*.

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\* The Society before whom I had the honour of laying this Essay, and through whose persuasion, as well as those of other friends, it now appears before the public, had also been noticed ; but as it now no longer exists, the remarks have been since omitted.

India has from time immemorial been looked upon as valuable and inexhaustible mines of wealth. From the earliest periods, she has been the great resort of various nations, for almost all the most valuable commodities. In more modern times, Portugal, Holland, France, and England, have successively participated, in no common degree, in the benefits of the fruits of her bowels, and made no small struggles to maintain their respective preponderance of power therein ; but especially, the last of them. Her capabilities of conferring benefit, however, have not yet been altogether exhausted, nor have they all been explored. Daily experience shows, that she has yet enough within herself to enrich many more nations. How much is it to be regretted, that whilst foreign nations are enriching themselves through her means, and at the same time expressing a just and

I would here beg leave to add a few words respecting the Theatre, which some of my young countrymen have lately opened. I am quite at a loss to conceive, of what utility it can be to them. They cannot have forgotten the remark of the father of modern philosophy, that “ the stage is more beholden to love, than to the life of men.” No one who has with any degree of attention watched his feelings, whilst attending to a love-scene, will deny the truth of this observation. In these trifles, not to say worse, how much money is expended, is inconceivable !

highly commendable sense of gratitude by disseminating among them the knowledge of their arts and sciences, and of the only true religion, a great part of her own children are doing neither the one nor the other. Can the East Indians claim any merits in the prosperity of the only country they call their own? What have they done, or what are they doing for her weal?

Most of them call Hindoostan their own ; lay no small stress upon their right to certain privileges, which they either enjoy but partially, or are denied from motives which are best known to their rulers ; and mourn because they are not every thing in it ; but alas ! that it must be said, they are their own enemies. They dream of and sigh for every thing but what is really accessible to them, and what would alone do them essential good. We readily admit, that there are some among them, who, by their respectable commercial undertakings, indicate a just sense of the capabilities of the country to enrich them : but how few are these ! and how confined are their views ! There are others again, who, by diligently cultivating their minds, endeavour to become ornaments to their nation ; and we cannot but

wish that there were more of both these. We are constrained, however, to say, that whilst they apply themselves to these objects with other aims than that with which, every reflecting mind would think, they ought to do, they can never hope to obtain the praise of having been fathers and benefactors of an infant nation,—an honour which every East Indian ought above all other things to be ambitious of acquiring. Who amongst them can pretend, that, when East Indian society has advanced a few paces nearer its meridian, on monuments betokening their disinterested worth, their patriotic zeal, and their self-denial in assisting the aggrandizement of their fellow-citizens, will be engraved in golden characters, “ These were the corner stones of the people ?”

It is high time, I think, that they should bestir themselves, and use every means in their power to wipe away the impressions that their indifference to their best interests have created in the minds of their foreign spectators, and the stains they have thereby entailed upon their own character.

If the above observations be correct, which they will be allowed to be by every unprejudiced mind, they evidently imply the neces-



sity of a change in the present pursuits and habits of living of the East Indians ;—and it becomes an inquiry of no small moment, what are the means best calculated to improve the present condition of the East Indians, and to raise them to that standing in the scale of society, from which they are at present at so great a distance ?

I need scarcely answer, Colonization appears to be the only feasible and effectual means of encompassing this grand object ; of accelerating the march of their prosperity, and of advancing their importance in the world.

I propose, therefore, to offer a few suggestions on the colonization of Hindoostan by East Indians, in which it is my object to show its *necessity, practicability, and advantages.*

I cannot but suppose, that with the views contained in the following pages, some will not agree ; but I feel convinced, that those who consider the subject maturely, will see reason to coincide with them. I may also add, that having been myself some years back engaged in similar pursuits, which circumstances over which I had no control obliged me to relinquish ; and having liv-

ed much among the aborigines, and seen a great part of Hindoosthan, I cannot but hope, that in general my plan will prove satisfactory.

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THE  
NECESSITY OF COLONIZATION.



It has added not a little to my determination to lay down a few thoughts on this interesting subject, that few have been inconsiderate enough to question the necessity of East Indians colonizing the country. That such should be the case, it is reasonable to suppose, after the experience of a sufficient length of time has evinced the hopes of Government's providing for such a numerous and daily increasing body as that of the East Indians to be vain presumptions. It is nevertheless evident, that the necessity is more *acknowledged* than *felt*.

Upon the agitation of the intentions of those generous individuals who were instrumental in establishing THE CALCUTTA APPRENTICING SOCIETY, it afforded me no little pleasure to recognize some indications of a conviction of the necessity of the East Indians colonizing the country ; but I was not a little chagrined to find afterwards, that those generous individuals were chiefly Europeans,—another proof that the East Indians themselves are doing little or

nothing to promote their future permanent prosperity ; and my disappointment was greatly augmented to learn more subsequently, that the most successful, though not the most useful, branch of its operations has for some time past been principally supported by the Insurance Societies of Calcutta.

The necessity there exists for the East Indians' colonizing Hindoosthan may be evinced by a variety of considerations : a few of these we shall touch upon. The more translucent this can be made, the easier it will be for them to perceive the peculiarity of their case, and the desire to remedy it will naturally be created.

In the first place, then, I would direct their attention to the circumstance, that India is their *home*—the only spot upon earth to which they can with any degree of propriety naturally lay claim as their own. Here it is that they first draw their breath, and spend their juvenile years, than which nothing endears a place more to men. It is this which makes a man a lion, when there is danger of his early haunts being invaded. It is this that glows like a perpetual flame in the bosom of our transmarine friends, who

wish to enjoy no other happiness on this side the grave so much, as to be able to return to the land of their youth, and lay their bones in the tombs of their forefathers! This feeling does not more actuate the natives of a civilized country than the inhabitants of the barren wastes of Africa, or those of the snowy Andes. It operates with such force at times as to render life a burthen, when the hope of returning to the land of one's nativity is cut off; and it is worthy of remark, that this attachment is strongest in those who have spent their earliest years among rural scenes. Nature seems to have been so ordered, as to impart a more lasting impression of things with which people become familiar in the country than those in towns. It would not, perhaps, be very difficult to trace the cause of this; but as that would lead me to digress from the subject more immediately under my consideration, I waive the inquiry. My argument demanded some hints on the subject, as they lead us to conclude, that so long as the East Indians love to dwell in the metropolis, and seem to dislike an abode in the interior, they are actually removed far from the scenes and circumstances, which attach us most strongly

to our country. By taking up their abode in the interior, and thereby acquiring a natural attachment to the soil, they would be able to set a legitimate value on it, and thenceforward deem an alienation from it, a calamity of immense magnitude. Unless such a temper is produced in the sympathies of the East Indians, they will never be able to perceive the extent of the claims they have in the soil, and the soil on them. \* Every country has necessarily a strong hold on the regards of its children, and it is the duty of the latter to manifest it upon all occasions. The East Indians, on the contrary, seem to take pains to show, that they are the only people in the world who are indifferent to this virtuous feeling. Their own country has no manner of charms for them. The richest soil—a country where nature yields her bounties almost spontaneously, is unaccountably despised by her own sons ! I have not seldom been entertained by hearing several East Indians speaking in most enthusiastic strains of the country where they had resided only for a short time to acquire an education, which, it is believed, their own does not afford. It has proved to them a kind of nursery, but to give the preference

to a foreign land, and depreciate one's mother country, is just like loving school better than home, or the embraces of a mercenary nurse than the lap of a mother. That man's heart must be a strange thing indeed, who can wink at the ties of nature, and loathe his mother because she is not so comely as his nurse, and because it is *his own* fault that she has not those attractions which would command his esteem! We shall touch upon this point again, when we come to discuss the nature of the impediments which, it is supposed, the East Indians will have to combat in attempting to colonize the country. What has been briefly said of the necessity there is of the East Indians residing in the interior, and their pursuing agriculture, under the persuasion that the soil is their own, will not, it is hoped, be deemed unimportant. For where is that man who makes the most distant pretension to patriotism, and does not love his own country better than any others, whatever be the local advantages in their favour? How soon would that country be desolated whose people were disposed like the East Indians! Some of them most unnaturally designate England their *home*, and express

an undue eagerness *to return to it*, as they phrase it. Supposing that all those East Indians who have been educated in England had the means to go back to it for the purpose of terminating their existence there, and supposing that these are looked upon as the most creditable of the whole body, who would be left to show, that India was a desirable residence? And who would be found so capable of contributing to her prosperity? They must be permitted to make choice of their *homes*; but it is impossible to commend the disposition. C

The prosperous condition of the aborigines brings another necessity to light in support of the plan of colonization I am recommending. The aborigines cannot surely be allowed to have a greater interest in the soil of Hindoosthan than the East Indians. To the former it belongs from time immemorial; to the latter by the intervention of a series of circumstances, from the time when the Europeans first commenced their commercial intercourse with it. The East Indians seem to have been thrown into the country by an inscrutable Providence, as it were, to teach the aborigines the art of turning to account those advantages of which



their ignorance precluded them from availing themselves. Or it may be considered as the display of the judgment of the Supreme Disposer of the earth on the aborigines, for their gross abuses of the innumerable blessings which they have all along enjoyed. How bountiful has the Almighty been to them, in spite of their aggravated crimes ! The fatness of the land was given to them ; but instead of serving their Donor with their substance, they have devoted themselves to the worship of the work of their own hands ! Let not these remarks, however, be construed into a supposition, that I entertain the slightest idea of the East Indians ultimately supplanting the aborigines, so far as to rule over them, or to turn them out of the country, or even to maintain any great preponderance of advantages over them : far from it. The most circumscribed insight into the rise and progress of nations must convince any one, that such a supposition, under the existing peculiar circumstances, would be truly preposterous. It would be no small absurdity to conceive, that while the aborigines are being progressively enlightened, they will retrograde back into their former, or even their pre-

sent comparative pusillanimity. We have, on the contrary, every reason to believe, that in time they will become a most interesting people in the universe, and that they are designed to cut a conspicuous figure on the stage, which, by the allotment of Providence, has become, and will probably continue, always theirs. Their present prosperity is no mean indication of what, I am firmly persuaded, they will arrive at in due time. All that is meant by these remarks is, that a body of men being raised up in this country, under circumstances which equally entitle them to share with the aborigines in the benefits derivable from it, it would lead us to suppose, that Providence either intended to bless the latter in some peculiar manner through the instrumentality of the former, or to punish the one for their ingratitude, by making the other take away from them so much of those benefits, which they will in fact do, if they also do not forfeit them by *their* ingratitude.

So long, however, as the East Indians view themselves as strangers in their own country, and act accordingly, keeping aloof from those pursuits which mainly render the aborigines a prosperous people,

*they must of a certainty prepare for being lorded over by those upon whom they now look down with contempt. I repeat, that if the East Indians fail to found their hopes of prosperity as a people upon the circumstances which now help forward the aborigines, the time will be rapidly advancing, when, instead of the latter emulating the example of the former, the former will be driven to the necessity of striving to vie with the latter, for advantages which, by timely consideration and activity on their part, might have equipoised between them. But very inopportunately for the existing state of the East Indians' mind, the aborigines have begun to open their long closed eyes. The Brahmun has ere this resorted to the humble plough and the shop, to be found at which would formerly have attached an indelible stigma to his character. I do not mean to extenuate the many notable foul practices in the commission of which they are daily detected to acquire an iniquitous independence, which, much as it is to be deplored, many of them have secured. Their matchless duplicity and unparalleled dishonesty are proverbial. This is freely admitted ; but yet, a closer view would convince any*

*body, that the real cause of their prosperity, I mean of the aborigines in general, lies independent on their dishonesty and duplicity, and rather in their well known attachment to the places of their nativity, than in any thing else. Many of them have drawn their breath in forbidding parts of the country, such as are subject to annual inundations, or to periodical or perpetual prevalence of malignant disease. To these, they almost invariably return from the metropolis or popular towns, (whither they had conveyed themselves in order to earn something over and above what the partial cultivations they are wont to carry on in their places of nativity are capable of yielding,) as soon as they have accomplished their object; and there they spend their infirm days. If they prosper in their town undertakings, they return to their native villages, in which the first thing they do is, to extend their cultivations, purchase landed property, and build snug brickdwelling-houses. By these and other infallible methods, many of them are now the holders of extensive farms, and possess a degree of respectability and local influence, of which the most favoured and successful East Indians of the metropolis*

cannot boast. If the East Indians would prosper too, need it be recommended, that they should not feel it beneath them to tread in the footsteps of the more discerning aborigines? If ocul'r demonstration is convincing, need we fear to say, that the aborigines are prospering, and that by the means here recommended.

The state of the country, in other points of view likewise, shows the necessity of colonizing it by East Indians. The construction of the British Indian community, comprehending Europeans, East Indians, and aborigines is a very peculiar one, and places the East Indians, as colonists, in a field of action totally different from that in which the Americans had to commence their career. The circumstances connected with the colonists sent out by the Romans into various parts, do not correspond with the state of things in India. They themselves were the colonists, but the British are not; so that it leaves the case of the East Indians without a parallel in the pages of history. In India, the Europeans are not suffered to colonize; in America, the colonists drove back the aborigines into the interior, to make room for themselves, had not which

been the case, their colonization would have been placed on an exact footing with that of the Romans. The East Indians are to effect it by a fair competition with the aborigines. The Romans doubtless acquired access to the countries to which they emigrated by coercive measures, in the same manner as the British have gained their possessions in India : but they, as well as these, did not extirpate the aborigines, who though they were subjugated by strangers, were left at liberty to pursue their usual occupations, as far as they comported with the laws and political arrangements of their conquerors. The East Indians will not have to endure the fatigues of long military journies, or the inconveniencies of endless voyages, to carry their point *vi et armis*. This their ancestors have already done for them, and they have nothing more to do than to put their shoulder to the wheel of colonization immediately, and set it in motion. It is of no use to call Hercules with his ponderous bludgeon to become their champion. They have a better protector in the sceptre of Britain.

The fact, that whilst the natives are in reality the sole, or nearly the sole occupants

of the soil of India, and are discerning enough to perceive the importance which the smallest patch of ground attaches to its possessor, they will do, as indeed they are doing, every thing to secure it more effectually to themselves,—calls for the immediate attention of the East Indians to colonization. The consequences resulting from this circumstance must be obvious to every one. It is enhancing, and has done so for some time past, the value of lands to an extent of which none but those can form an adequate idea, who have taken the trouble to dive into the state of things in the interior. They are endeavouring to engross all those tracts of country which have hitherto been left to run waste, or to turn into impenetrable jungles:—woods are being cleared away, and the alluvial places are attempted to be improved. It is not meant to infer from this, that they have brought their newly acquired possessions into a prosperous state of cultivation. No, the poor simpletons are yet either too wary of their purses, or lack that spirit of enterprise without which no country can promise rapid improvement. It is to be remembered, however, that so long as they secure to

themselves a proprietary right in the soil, which, as it were, already belongs to them, and begin to perceive the East Indians trying to make room for themselves, (which will soon be the case,) they will of course be at liberty to set such a valuation upon them as their avarice will readily suggest ; so that what may *now* be obtained for 8 annas per beegha, will not *then* be procurable for less than 2 rupees. When this takes place, how mortifying must it prove to an industrious individual, to be forced to take up lands which will require a double portion of labour to enable him to keep clear of involvements ! It falls to my happy lot to inform the East Indians, that there are yet immense portions of the country in an uncultivated state, which could very easily be procured, either by purchase or on long or permanent leases. Some of these lie as naked as they came out of the waters of the deluge, but might with very little labour be brought to a successful culture : others exhibit a partial improvement, and are never made to yield more than one solitary crop in the year. I have examined the properties of several such spots myself, and may safely give it as my decided opinion, that they



might be made to repay labour with at least two, if not three, crops in the year. The natives could never satisfactorily inform me of the cause of such waste of land. Some said, the soil was not good, and others pleaded want of time or hands ; but I attribute it to their indolence, the lower class having a strange propensity to servitude. Some of them will forsake their best field to be employed as a *chuprasee* or *durwan* in a lucrative house. They cannot yet comprehend what it is to live out of service, though from the very insignificant labour they bestow upon their cultivations, they might have been expected to have been pretty well convinced, that they need not to look for lucrative employment beyond the precincts of their fields. It is not improbable, that one of the causes of the neglect of their lands is the very little pains required to secure the usual crop. And what is very characteristic of the indolence of the aborigines is, that when a field has repeatedly failed to produce the expected crop, in consequence of inundations or droughts, it never strikes them, that these evils might be remedied by sinking wells in their fields. I do not refer to *the annual inundations* to which

parts of some of the lower districts are subject. It might, without much difficulty, be made to appear, that so far from these proving pernicious to the prospects of the farmers, they ought, on the contrary, to be welcomed. The coat of earth acquired in the lands might in some instances prove unfriendly to paddy, and the continuance of the water beyond the seed-time may put that article completely out of their list; nevertheless other things might be made to yield a better reward\*. The destructive inundations alluded to, are unusual quantities of rain, which as they are always uncertain, the hope, that it will not be so the next season, easily deceives the poor fellows into indifference about its temporary consequences. On the other hand, when a want of a proper quantity of rain for two or three successive years, occasions a failure, it as little strikes them to contrive means to irrigate their lands. In general, however, the cause of so much country running waste and wild, is certainly the want of activity and enterprise. If they can make a shift to live upon one or two paltry crops, they care very little about what their lands

\*. See Appendix, for further remarks on this head.

might be made to produce by a small portion of additional labour. Thus the richness of the land is left to go a begging. But why should it be suffered to be so, as long as there are East Indians capable of placing a more reasonable value on the capabilities of the soil? Does not this circumstance imply a necessity of their colonizing it? Is it right to suffer their own country to remain a manger, wherein they must ere long seek access, but probably be refused admittance? But I shall waive this argument for the present, as some might be disposed to regard it as maintaining an advantage rather than a necessity.

From these general considerations, I descend to a few particular ones, from which, I trust, the necessity of what I am speaking, will be more evident. Before, however, proceeding to do this, I think it necessary, to prevent misapprehension, to explain the sense in which I use the term colonization. The term is derived from the Latin word *colonia*, signifying, “ a company of people transplanted from one place to another ;” or “ a body of people drawn from their mother country to inhabit some distant place.” There are some, however, who give it a

somewhat different meaning, i. e. “ the country planted, or a plantation.” Something similar to this is the sense in which I have used, and will use the term throughout the Essay, and if I mistake not, I have of late generally seen it used in the same sense. I am sensible, that it does not exactly convey the idea I intend, and some may be disposed to think, that *agriculture* or *husbandry* would have been a fitter word; but that would have been too limited a designation to express the nature of my plan, which, it will be seen by and by, does not simply comprehend agricultural pursuits, but a variety of such other manual arts, and handicraft and scientific works, as in colonizing a country are simultaneously carried on. I do not, therefore, know that I could have fixed upon any other term that would have answered my purpose better than the one I have adopted. The East Indians, at least the best part of them, at present, reside in the metropolis. Should they at any time be induced to attempt colonization, it will be necessary for them to emigrate in bodies into the interior, to the remoter parts of which they are such strangers, that their removal from Calcutta

would certainly appear to them as removing from one region to another. Hence it will be seen, that my meaning of the word is, after all, not so foreign to some of the meanings given above as some might be inclined to suppose\*.

The rapid multiplication of the numbers of the East Indians, is another and a most powerful reason for their colonizing the country. By residing and multiplying in the metropolis, the East Indians will shortly baffle all the wishes of Government to make provision for them, in such of its services as the nature of them will allow. No state in the world can possibly find the means of affording food and raiment for those who render themselves incapable of providing for themselves through the medium of anything else but servitude. A hundred thousand could at once be supported by Government in the military service, but its peculiar policy precludes the possibility of it. And this circumstance probably, under the existing state of things, is most favourable to the East Indians. War, foreign

\* The reader had not been troubled with these remarks, but for some objections which were made to the word, as used here, by some to whom the writer had shown the manuscript essay. He takes this opportunity of returning his thanks to those and other individuals for some other valuable remarks of theirs, which have enabled him to improve these pages since they were first written.

out, will soon overstock the transcribing market, if such a thing has not already taken place. The East Indians, I know, begin to feel themselves pinched for room. There are hundreds who would thankfully serve for the salaries now allowed to the aborigines, 20 or 30 rupees per month, and perhaps for less, and have effectually ceased to dream of hundreds. Many of the offices of authority begin to teem with Hindoo writers, as also all the mercantile concerns.

It might be said, that the East Indians ought to resort to mechanical arts, which are plentifully in their way in such a city as Calcutta. The fact, however, must be published, that there are scarcely half a dozen mechanics who think it worth their while to receive apprentices of this denomination of the liege subjects of his Majesty. The cause of this remains to be found out. Allowing this to pass, and supposing the present number of the East Indians (of such as want employment) were to make themselves adepts in some of the mechanical arts, they might probably do well enough ; and, as it is believed that they could do more and better work than the aboriginal mechanics, these last, it may

The rapid increase of their numbers demands a proportionable extension of their resources. The field which they occupy now, with a very few exceptions, is the metropolis of India. In the absence of the services already noticed, the public offices of Government are open for their reception, in which only a few, comparatively speaking, earn their livelihood. These offices cannot be multiplied *ad infinitum*, nor the salary of those who are employed in them be augmented, without surmounting an impossibility. On the contrary, it is plain, that in consequence of the multiplication of hands, the admission of additional ones into them, is under very unfavourable circumstances, if we except that they must otherwise go a begging ; and the time is drawing nigh when the pay of writers must be reduced, to make room for such as will be found unprovided for by the growth of idle hands. Besides this, the aborigines are making such rapid progress in the acquisition of the English language, and the inconceivable perseverance with which they make themselves dextrous in handling the pen, added to the small wages for which they let themselves

more blood is spilt in one day than a whole age in a country can raise! But supposing it were desirable, where is the possibility of accomplishing it? It must long be a hopeless case. The other service (the civil) is likewise not accessible. We shall, therefore, say nothing further about it, but proceed to show what may be more deserving the attention of East Indians, the necessity which arises for their colonizing the country from a view of their present peculiar situation, in many respects gloomy and unfavourable to their future welfare.

I have said, they cannot be provided for either in the civil or military service. Thus circumstanced, they willingly avail themselves of what comes next within their notions of gentlemanly employment; but these unfortunately happen to be of so limited a nature, and attended with such a variety of unpleasant circumstances, that, though they are at present apparently unconcerned about other things more likely to ensure their permanent prosperity, they will soon be obliged to attend to them, and see the necessity of striking into something that is capable of giving the present aspect of things a more promising turn.



war especially, usually draws away the attention of people from evils that prevail within doors. Most politicians have made good use of this method in times of domestic turbulence. It is also a capital plan to thin the population, when it begins to be overgrown, from which many sore vicissitudes have happened to the state. But I must say no more on this delicate subject, and will only bid the East Indians be exceedingly glad that it is what it is. It is to be hoped, that the soldier's ardour has not yet been communicated to them, and leaves room for a very different species of enthusiasm. It is well that they are not perpetually haunted with dreams of cannonading and carnage, prize-money, or any sort of booty earned by "hairbreadth 'scapes i' the imminent deadly breach." By all means, let the aboriginal Othellos have it; but let the East Indians do something which savours more of "home-spun." Let them have a field of honour, but not strowed with the dead and dying,—a campaign, but not where people get more broken heads than they can well afford to spare; where more widows and orphans are created than society knows well what to do with; and where

he imagined, would, in a very short time, be brought to make sad shifts for want of work. Were this, however, possible, and did the present high notions of the East Indians permit them to adopt the extremely economical habits of the aborigines, yet the rising and the next generation after it could not all become mechanics too, without serious consequences to the prosperity of the latter description of mechanics. To stretch a point, I will even make a concession of this argument, and grant that the second and third generations could *earn their bread* without injury to the prospects of the aboriginal artisans. What will that prove? Why, nothing more, than that while the aborigines not only keep pace with the East Indians in such professions, and at the same time prosper in every thing else, the East Indians, after excepting the small section employed as writers, will be confined simply to the former :—a pretty alternative this, to be sure, for nearly a whole people! No other parts of Hindoosthan saving Calcutta, are accessible to East Indians. In Calcutta they must live, and in Calcutta they must die. The necessity of this must be questioned. It must be denied, that

handicrafts *alone* ever had a tendency to promote the general welfare of an infant people. This may be a very good plan to enable foreigners to escape being perpetually imposed upon by native artisans, and thereby secure a more rapid independence, and retire from business ; but it cannot otherwise be effected than at the expense of the East Indians.

Calcutta is a place of trade, and the minds of its inhabitants are full of it ; hence it is not to be wondered at, that trades, and chiefly the mechanical art, will be recommended in preference to any thing else. I do not lay stress upon the mere supplying the means of common subsistence : begging would do that. But I ask, why must it be indispensable for the East Indians to bury themselves within the metropolis ? Do not the large tracts of country, most of which are almost uninhabited and uncultivated, throw open their arms, and promise far easier and far more independent remuneration of labour than any of the occupations in which the East Indians are at present engaged, or could engage, in the metropolis ? If they must be placed on the same footing with the aborigines, (which, I readily grant, it would

not be disgraceful,) why not allow the interior of the country to be the sphere of their respective undertakings as well as the city? Must the East Indians be made the instruments in the hands of merchants and mechanics, and these chiefly foreigners, who have no manner of claim in the soil, for the purpose of enriching them, and enabling them to carry away the fatness of it? If such a thing cannot be helped, let the aborigines by all means be permitted to engross to themselves the servile credit of auxiliaries. The miseries that threaten the growing population of the East Indians should not be proposed to be ameliorated by things which, (putting the best construction on the motives of those that suggest them) are by no means calculated to better their condition.

Let it be considered also, whether the numbers of the East Indians who are almost in a state of starvation, do not more forcibly suggest the necessity of their colonizing the country than words can express. In the nature of things, it is literally impossible, whatever we have said for the sake of argument, that Government can provide for the whole body of existing and

increasing East Indians, and their present resources are confessedly inadequate to meet the wants of them all. The very circumstance of numbers strolling about the streets of the city of palaces, burdens upon their helpless parents for want of employment, is an indisputable proof of this assertion. Hence they must turn their thoughts, their ingenuity, and their means, immediately to something else. But to what else will they resort? Will they become mechanics? Will they become tradesmen? Will they become seamen? The first of these, we presume, we have shown would but scantily provide for a part of them. Some may, indeed, become mechanics; and, we may add, some may become tradesmen too, though it is too evident to need to be shown, that but a very few, in their present penurious state as a body, could enter upon any speculation, on a scale sufficiently extensive to render it worth their while to undertake it. Seamen they need not become, however easy it may be of access; neither ought it to be thought a desirable life, when they can be any thing else preferable. Had there been much necessity for foreign trade, they might then become seamen; but there is

none, at least not at present. What then remains that they can become? Yes, and if some of them choose, they may become drummers and fifiers too. Let me not be supposed to intend to insult their feelings. Far be it from me! It is my professed object to render them a respectable body of men hereafter, if they will but follow the steps I have taken the liberty to recommend. While I am on this point, let me not leave it without calling the attention of my countrymen to the lamentable fact, that many of them are actually no better employed, though not from choice. In the thing itself, I admit, there is no disgrace: but certainly there is in the circumstances connected with their being employed in those lines of profession. If it is a disgrace, to whom do they owe their being thus singled out for drummers and fifiers? Is it not to the inattention of those who are capable of taking the lead in promoting the welfare, the respectability, and the independence\* of their countrymen? Is it not to their self-will—their pride, which, though it affect to despise the peace-

\* I would just desire the reader to bear in mind, that the sense in which I use the word *independence*, is simply opposed to the present dependant state of the East Indians, in reference to the means of getting their livelihood.

ful and useful employment of a farmer, can yet bear to think, that a part of their countrymen are in a far worse situation ?

It is in vain to conceal, that they will in a short time be driven to the necessity of abandoning the metropolis ; but it would be wiser to be regulated by choice. The present moment is available, and colonization would be attended with far less difficulty and toil now, than at a time when circumstances would oblige them to make very mortifying stretches. *Let them bestow a legitimate reflection on the subject, and the necessity* of colonizing the country will not require to be farther urged.

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THE  
PRACTICABILITY OF COLONIZATION.

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Having, as I trust, shown the necessity of the East Indians' colonizing the country, I proceed next to consider, as proposed, the *practicability* of it, which, I am sorry, though not surprised, to find has been more than once questioned by different persons: some of these persons seem to have paid some attention to the subject; the rest, I am fully confident, have never bestowed a single thought upon it, at least not one that could deserve that name. Were I ever so much inclined to put a favourable construction upon the motives that dictated their hostility (I cannot call it by a better name) to the undertaking, which, it is the design of this essay to recommend strongly and earnestly, I should yet be extremely at a loss to account for it, so devoid of all rationality, and even common sense is it; and, certainly, without the least shadow of fact to countenance it. This I hope to prove in the course of the succeeding strictures. I do not, however, mean to deny, that the East Indians will have to overcome any ob-



**stacles** whatever in their attempt to colonize the country. Doubtless, they will have to combat with several and great difficulties ; but they are by no means such as to be insurmountable. If undertakings of less importance and magnitude are not unattended with impediments and toils, it is most reasonable to expect, that an undertaking of such immense importance and extent as the colonization of Hindoosthan by East Indians must be accompanied with much more toil and difficulty. If, however, they must colonize the country, that is, if the necessity of their doing it has been sufficiently and satisfactorily evinced, I would beg leave to ask, when and how, then, are these impediments to be removed ? Is it when the country will be thrown open to foreign colonization ? Can nothing be done unless foreigners have a finger in the pie ? Or will it be said, that the aid of foreigners must be waited for ? That such ideas are chimerical, may be easily proved. In the first place, our wise politicians are well aware, that there are no prospects of the country's being thrown open to immigration. In the next place, the existing impediments must be removed before the influx of foreign co-

lonies can prosper. If *they* are to remove them, the East Indians can likewise do it for themselves. Should this not be admitted, it would then follow, that all things must be previously set in order in such a manner as to enable the emigrants, on their arrival, to prosecute their labours successfully, otherwise they must be foiled, and prepared to retrace their footsteps to their respective countries. But where was such a thing ever known as attempts to clear away the obstacles to colonization ere the arrival of the colonists? The Romans were not thus favoured ; the Americans less ; and the recent enterprizers in Africa least of all. The Romans, it might be said, removed the impediments which obstructed their way at the point of the sword ; and the same will, perhaps, be said of what the Americans did in some instances. But those were obstacles of a different nature from what the East Indians will have to contend with. They had to make room for themselves in the country to which they immigrated, to subdue the original possessors of those countries, and to combat with various other such difficulties. The East Indians will have no

such thing to do. Their way is comparatively smooth before them ; they live under powerful protection ; they have only to put their hands to the plough, and prosper. Let us again, for a moment, advert to the facts connected with the different attempts to colonize the countries already once or twice mentioned.

When the first settlers in America immigrated to the country which now gives them a name, was it previously prepared for their reception ? or rather, were they not sensible that they would be obliged to do it themselves ? And did they not, by steadiness and perseverance, secure prosperity ? That the East Indians should be able to do less, after the state of things has been brought to that train which the Americans had to labour through incredible hardships in order to effect, must be regarded as frivolous talk. Again, the African colonists entered upon the work under far less favourable circumstances than the Americans. Who can help being struck with astonishment at the detail of the singular trials which they had to endure, and are still groaning under ? Who can help admiring the perseverance of spirit

actuates them in their praiseworthy object ? Their sufferings are exquisite ; but let them not faint, for a sweet reward awaits the progress of their magnanimous career. If, under such circumstances, *they* have prospered, and are prospering, the East Indians, who have no reason to apprehend the immense obstructions which opposed the progress of the American colonists, and much less those which the African settlers had to contend with, cannot but succeed in their attempts to colonize the country. They are firmly and peaceably established in the country which their ancestors have obtained for them, - a country, which is not only the richest in the world, but in which the earth almost spontaneously yields her fruits to the touch of her children. A large portion of it has been all along kept in a state of tolerable cultivation, and they will have perfect security in forwarding their no less praiseworthy undertaking. A variety of impediments have been mentioned, which, it is supposed, render the practicability of East Indians colonizing the country, doubtful : we shall examine the most important of them.

And first of all, it is said, the climate of India presents a formidable barrier to the realization of the hope of East Indian colonists. I am at loss to conceive what could induce any one who had the smallest experience or knowledge of the real nature of the climate of this country, to suggest such a *sad* impediment to its colonization by means of East Indians! They ought to be fully aware, that the complaints we are daily doomed to hear about the insalubrity of the climate, do not spring from the aborigines, and certainly from only a few of the East Indians. If foreigners feel the effects of the climate to which they have not been inured by length of residence, are we to admit their claims, and condemn it? Ganjam and other parts of India are said to be the graves of Europeans. Well, and so it may be, without its having any thing to do with the nature of the climate of India in general: otherwise, we might with as much propriety tax England for being a worse climate than India, because some East Indians have, during their residence there, been completely crippled. If the heat and vapour of Hindoosthan have proved destructive to Europeans, the cold, fog, &c. of England

have slain their hundreds of India. How can a place at one extremity of the globe, be possibly expected to prove friendly to the constitution of one who comes all of a sudden to reside in it, from a place where the seasons, scenes, and manner of life of the people are diametrically opposite to those of it? Yet, is it not a fact, that only a few, comparatively speaking, of such Europeans as lead sober lives, have fallen the victims of the climate of India? The raging of the cholera must not be mentioned, since we are pretty certain, that there is scarcely a country in the world to which it has not extended its dreadful ravages. In other respects, the natives and East Indians do not feel more from the effects of the climate of India than the Europeans do in their respective countries. If they too are heard to complain at times, it must be more from *imitation* than any *real* cause. We are satisfied, however, that the aborigines have no manner of objection to be allowed to remain in the country of their forefathers. They love it passing well; yes, even as well as those love theirs, who claim the fairest spot in the universe as their own. This impediment, therefore, lies more in the *delicate con-*

*struction* of the constitution of foreigners, than in the *climate* of India itself. If this be allowed, then the colonization of India by means of Europeans must be viewed as a somewhat preposterous project, and those who recommend it must bear the imputation of cruelty. There cannot exist any very material difference in the constitution of the aborigines and East Indians, but what arises from the difference in the nature of the exercises to which their bodies have been subjected from early life : in other respects they are the same. If the birth and the constant residence of the former have inured them to the climate, the similarity of those circumstances places the East Indians in precisely the same condition : with this in their favour, that ~~the~~ food to which they have been accustomed from their infancy has a greater tendency to form a more active and robust constitution than that of the generality of the aborigines, which commonly is rice, and vegetables, and pure water. And yet, wonderful to conceive, they live nearly as long as the inhabitants of Europe, who fare better in many respects ! *It must be a bad climate indeed to do so much with such insignificant means of forming the constitution !*

It is feared, that the heat of the sun would prevent the East Indians from working in their fields at mid-day. This must first be set beyond a doubt, ere it can be enumerated along with the variety of other impediments that are, I am convinced, too hastily supposed to threaten failure in the attempt to colonize. What say the East Indians themselves? Are they such milksops as to revolt at the idea of exposing themselves to the effects of the sun, and ready to cry out that they have made the experiment, and are obliged to confess that they are terribly afraid of being scorched? To give these scarecrow-manufacturers a chance of establishing their ill-omened position, I will beg leave to request answers to the following few plain questions, viz. Are not hundreds of East Indians daily seen strolling through the streets of the city, without the accommodation of *chata-burdars*? Are these burnt by the fervent rays of Phœbus, and reduced to cinders? Are there not others of them in the habits of encountering all the hardships of a seafaring life, amidst the uproar of jarring elements, the streams of scorching sunbeams, and the floods of inundating rain, storms, and tempests; heat and



cold, wet and dry ? Do they not all prove equally ineffectual in deterring them from again venturing themselves near the yawning gulf and on the faithless waves ? How many of these, may it not be asked, have there been struck to death by *coup de soleil*, or blown to atoms by the infuriated winds ? Ask the laskar, whether he ever put an East Indian's fortitude to the blush ? Have the latter run up the shrouds with less agility, or reefed the bursting topsails with less placidity of countenance ? Have they shrunk with cowardice, when their captain, pointing to the yard-arm dipping at every roll into the foaming deep, bid them take their station there ? Are the miserable Hindoos capable of doing these things ? If not, and they experience no harm from the effects of the climate, I ask, is there not every likelihood of the East Indians pursuing the peaceful occupation of farmers with every prospect of success ? Moreover, was it never known, that some of them getting astride of dromedaries, traversed the banks of the Nurbuda beneath the killing beams of a vertical sun, amidst clouds of suffocating dust ? Were they never seen manfully fighting against the disaffected Bhounsla's

warlike legions, and braving the fiery weapons that flew big with destruction out of the thundering jaws of his artillery ? Let the intrepid Goorkha say, whether the death-dealing arms of the East Indians lost their executive powers in the *imminent fields* under the melting effects of the sun ; or were they enervated by the pernicious tendency of the climate ? Let these questions be plainly answered, and it will at once be proved, that the impediments in reference to climate are imaginary. I am persuaded, as well as they must be, who are able to speak from experience, that though the lot of the East Indians were cast in the hottest part of Hindoosthan, it would not in the least prove an obstacle to a successful prosecution of the pursuits recommended here.

But how poor will the arguments in favour of the impediment under consideration appear, when we call to mind, that European mariners bear the utmost brunt of the climate, as well as, if not in many instances better than, the hardest laskar that ever crossed the line ! If the inhabitants of a region, above whose horizon the sun, as it were, just peeps, and causes his limbs to shiver into a mortification in the

removes of his genial rays, can contrive to support existence, and earn an honest livelihood, without complaining half so much as our metropolitan friends, is it not fair to admit, that the East Indian, whose birthplace and habitation lie beneath the torrid zone, would be able to endure his own climate with a far better grace? It would reflect no little shame, were it otherwise. Further, look at the European soldiers, combating with a climate to which they have not been accustomed. Look at the European indigo planters : are they not generally a healthy class of people, in spite of the supposed deadliness of the effects of the said-to-be bad climate? What an effeminate race of people would they not make of the East Indians? I beg permission to ask the East Indians, does it not behove them to endeavour to silence our impediment-makers, by proving beyond a doubt, that there is no foundation for the ill-acquired impression that has gone abroad concerning their incapability to undertake any thing that is praiseworthy? Is not the time yet come to show, that they only require to have the way to seek their best interests pointed out? Is it necessary, that others must

think for them, and teach them what they are to do in order to secure to themselves a field of action, which, every thing, that is connected with their present and future welfare as a people, imperiously calls upon them to occupy? No; I think I shall be borne out in saying, that they have only waited for an opportunity to exert their dormant energies; and that their peculiar condition has hitherto precluded their attending to the most important step they should take; that their minds were till now completely engrossed with attending to the acquisition of those things which the support of existence immediately required; and as these necessarily placed them in a quarter where it was not only to be attended to, but where they could not properly acquire that information regarding the facilities of the interior to ensure them better livelihoods, without which prudence demanded that they should be cautious in their movements. I need not make any apology for this digression, if so it should be considered by any one.

It is true, we hear them, as well as the Europeans, complaining of heat under toil; we see them sweating beneath the pressure

of fatigue and exhaustion, in common with Europeans ; but does not every Hindoo or Musulman complain likewise, under similar circumstances ? There is not an individual among them, who, after returning from following his team, will not cry out *Kee-rod!* or *Bura-dhoop!* and so forth. So long as the East Indians are formed of flesh and blood, they must in an equal degree with others, be subject to these minor but common effects of all climates. These are effects not alone of climate, but the concomitants of labour and industry, and to avoid which, we must leave this world in search of another where men do not live “ by the sweat of their brow,” and where there is no sun.

With respect to the aborigines in India, a Hindoo or Musulman lad of 10 or 12 years of age, will tend the flocks and herds of his parents all the day long; but be it remembered, that when he begins to find the sun too powerful, he makes no objection to betake himself to the shelter of some neighbouring friendly trees. If this privilege is conceded to the East Indian, what is there in the nature of things to prevent his regarding such a thing in any other light than

as an impediment to his undertakings ? Many of them are aware, that with all their parental injunctions, advice and admonition, they cannot restrain their boys, and, not unusually, their girls also, from running and romping about in the sun during the hottest part of the day. Let a set of trap-bats and balls be thrown in their way, with liberty to knock about the balls when, where, and how they please, and I have reason to be persuaded, that they would so little mind the sun, that they would rather forego their ordinary meals than not be on the greens. A cricket match at twelve would do no more harm to their constitution than the lolling of our milksops beneath the refreshing gusts of the pendulating *punkha*. No greater evils would befall our East Indian youths, from sporting in the sun, than those which happen to the skaters in the serpentine canal in St. James' Park. *They* are able to decide this question, whose children *are* nearly the whole of the day in the open air and sun, at some allowed or forbidden play ; but withal are the healthiest, strongest, and cheerfulest children in the city. If the skins and complexions of the youngsters are not cared much about, the sun would

not prove inimical to their health. Give an East Indian lad a *tuttoo*, and he would kill it outright in the space of a week, by galloping him all day long in the sun. Could he not as well follow and tend a flock of sheep, or a herd of cows, with the help of shady trees to afford him a refreshing refuge from the heat of the sun when it becomes overpowering? I am of opinion, however, that the East Indian colonists need not absolutely to labour in the heat of the day out of doors, as the aborigines are most inconsiderately wont to do. If the colonists could prevail upon themselves to turn out of bed at 5 (it would not be requiring too much to suggest their rising even earlier) in the morning, and proceed to their fields forthwith, with their breakfast in their pockets, they would be able by 8, to go through more work than the aborigines, who seldom begin theirs till long after sunrise. They could then fall to their breakfast, and despatching it without unnecessary delay, resume their occupation at the team or hoe till 10: by which time they would have pushed through more business than they would, were they to toil at mid-day. Such a plan would preserve

them from unnecessary exhaustion, and enable them to return to their fields in the cool of the afternoon, with more vigour than they would otherwise do. During the interval thus secured, they could advantageously employ themselves within doors, or under shady topes, in some mechanical work or manufacture. This plan would also prevent their cattle from being pulled down so soon as the poor beasts that are used by the aborigines. Our East Indian scribes seldom go to their office before 10, where they usually remain till four. The colonists would have finished the most interesting part of their employment before the office hour of the former. They would, moreover, have the best part of the day to attend to a variety of such things as would procure them considerable sums of ready money. Besides which, since they would not have to plough every day in the year, what a deal of time could they command for other useful purposes ! By devoting their mornings, and part of their evenings to agriculture, they would realize more than sufficient to maintain themselves and families, and their manufactures, &c. would yield them the means of growing into respectability.



The most ostensible argument respecting the impracticability of colonization I have yet heard, is, that the East Indians will never be able to reduce their economy to that scale, which is a striking feature in the affairs of the lower orders of the aborigines. If the economy of the latter is to be viewed in the light of virtue, I would ask, Does not the argument go to prove, that the East Indians are not capable of exercising it? If imperious necessity be assigned as the cause, would not the same cause have a corresponding effect, as it respects the East Indians? To such a pass, alas! are the East Indians brought, that none are inclined to allow, that they are fit, or can be made fit, to order their affairs according to the extent of their resources, whether the motives arise out of necessity or virtue! This sounds very bad indeed. O! that it should be insinuated, that the people of all other countries in the universe can suit themselves to their circumstances, except the East Indians! Were the surmise correct, I would not hesitate a single moment to pronounce the aborigines of Hindoosthan to be superior in every respect to the East Indians. But it becomes us to examine into

the matter a little more carefully, and to find out the real fact, before we can fancy ourselves at liberty to frame such unnatural imputations.

The objection seems to be founded upon the assertion, that the aborigines live upon three rupees per month, to which rate of economy, it is presumed, the East Indians will never be able to reduce themselves ; so that their plan of colonization must, of course, prove abortive, and they must continue as they are, and look fearfully forward for the approach of the eventful era which must needs entail indescribable misery upon their progeny. If by the assertion, that the natives live upon three rupees per month, is meant that each individual of the aborigines *can* live upon that sum per mensem, it is allowed to be possible ; but if thereby it is intended to affirm, that each aboriginal family, of whatever extent, lives upon it, I would beg leave to give it a flat denial.

Did the East Indians indeed expect nothing more than the insignificant monthly income that rewards the labours of the aborigines, an insuperable bar would at once be thrown in the way of colonization, and my endeavours to recommend it should

merit laughter; but fortunately for the East Indians, their case is not yet grown so desperate as all that, as I trust to be able to show in the course of this essay.

Money is looked upon as the only procuring cause of the support of existence—money is the infallible pivot on which all success turns—money is the thing that rouses the energies of all classes of men—there is none who thinks it worth his while to start any plan, without making money the hook of success—in short, every thing is made to hang upon money;—which has now, what music was long ago said by a celebrated dramatist to possess,

—Charms to soothe the savage breast,  
To soften rocks, and bend the knotted oak.

“ Money makes the mare to go,” and, therefore, the East Indians must be made to go about the most important business (next to the concerns of a future world) he has yet to set himself to, with a silver goad! The aborigines, it is allowed by all parties, *naturally* require such an impetus to their lethargic movements, and *therefore*, the East Indians have a formidable stumbling-block in the path by which they hope to arrive at the smallest portion of independence! I

do not mean to say, that considering the present state of Asiatic society, money is not in some measure necessary to the attainment of any object --no ; I only object to the stress that is so much laid upon it, as if without it *nothing* could be done. Is there nothing in the world, that will be allowed to be the procuring cause of money itself ? What can money do without labour, without industry, without enterprise ?

The aboriginal farmers live upon the produce of their fields during several months in the year, and afterwards have recourse to their Muhajuns, who supply them with corn, I allow, at an exorbitant valuation. This debt is liquidated in kind at the time of ingathering ; but a surplus is almost always in the barns of the cultivators, upon which they live till the month of May or June, when they once more apply to their Muhajuns both for seed and food, which are supplied at the current price. This Muhajunee system invariably leaves the poor cultivators entirely at the mercy of their corn creditors ; but the latter are interested in continuing their dealings with them, though an unsuccessful season or two should preclude the possibility of their realizing the

value of their advances immediately. They must advance on, or they must wash their hands of outstanding balances. Rigorous methods would drive the farmers to the necessity of absconding; and if they are prosecuted in a court of justice when found, the process is attended with more expense than the sum proposed to be realized. They, therefore, adopt the wiser plan of repeating their advances, which gives them the only chance of recovering their dues. After the last crop of rice has been gathered, and the accounts settled between the debtor and creditor, most of the poorest classes resort to the neighbouring towns and cities in order to gain a livelihood, and before the time of sowing arrives, to save, if possible, enough to pay the rent of the land they occupy, which, if they are not able to do, their Muhajuns enable them to do, that is, pay it on their part. Thus it will be perceived, that the farmers support themselves and their families during several months in the year without handling a single rupee. They obtain various articles of domestic use, such as oil, salt, fish, &c. by bartering paddy for them. In general, the cultivations are carried on by some of the members

of the family, the father, brother, son, or nephew, while at the same time, one or two go to the towns to earn ready money. It is the latter who usually receive not more than three rupees per month, which circumstance would appear to have given rise to the opinion, that *the natives live only upon three rupees per month*, while in reality it is no such thing. It is overlooked, that while those individuals are earning that amount abroad, the hands at home are carrying on a variety of cultivations, besides rice, to add to the means of support. When an individual has none besides himself to manage his affairs in the country, he seldom or never ventures abroad in quest of three rupees per month.

To decide the matter of the support afforded by three rupees per month, we need only make a small calculation. Suppose an individual to have a wife, and only two children : what quantity of rice per diem would suffice to keep them alive ? We cannot allow them less than one seer and a half for both meals, which would make 45 seers per month, and which, at the rate of two rupees per maund, (it is cheaper in some places, and dearer at others : we take the average,)

comes to two rupees four annas, the balance in his favour is 12 annas. Now I demand, by what sort of calculation can it be made out, that oil, salt, firewood, vegetables or fish, (one or other of these two last articles he must have to make rice eatable,) house-rent, clothing, washing, shaving; pots and pans, baskets and brooms; the defraying of holiday expenses, and a variety of other minor charges, are to be provided for at the cost of only 12 annas? Our *meturs* and *mushalchees*, it will be said, are not farmers; how do they contrive to maintain themselves for four or five rupees per month? I am glad the income of our native domestics are beginning to advance from three to four rupees. It sounds well: we must nevertheless pursue our investigation, and it will not be my fault if I cannot give it a higher lift. Well, then, the *mushalchees* and *meturs* live upon four or five rupees per month. But are not the *Metranees*, *Meturs* too? Do they not usually earn better wages than their good husbands? If the man happens to be a *dooriya*, the woman is profitably employed as sweeper. Here is cent per cent. The five rupees have all at once swelled up to ten rupees per month! They are, however,

the most shabby and beggarly set of people in town. This is not the fault of the 10 rupees per month ; but fie on them, and all “ licensed retailers of wines and other spirituous liquors,” they are such incorrigible toppers ! And our Mushalchees, are they Hindoos or Mussulmeens ? If Hindoos, they are invariably of the *Bowree* or *Kaora* caste, which does not prevent their females from serving our ladies as *dyees* ; going into the jungles and gathering bundles of sticks for the markets ; employing themselves as beaters of the roofs of new houses ; or procuring the leaves of the date tree, and therewith making mats for sale. By any of these methods they usually contrive to gain nearly as much as their husbands. We may in like manner go through the whole train of our domestics, and, at least, double the amount of their inadequate gleanings in our services. Does not this detail of facts startle our impediment-hawkers ? And will it still be maintained, that the natives are in the habits of supporting themselves for three rupees per month ? If any credit would be given to my stating a fact, I could name an East Indian who once made the experiment (*by necessity*), whose table did not



cost him more than nine rupees per month, though he had four bellies to feed besides his own, and who acknowledges to the present day, that he enjoyed more real comfort then, than when he afterwards was in the receipt of 300 rupees per month ! But more than a hundred such instances, with the exception of the comfortable part of it, could be adduced, and which would satisfactorily go to establish the point, that the circumstances of the East Indians may be, and in many cases are brought almost on a level with those of the aborigines\*.

\* Since writing the above, I have had a sight of an article in the Quarterly Series of the Friend of India, No. 12, on the colonization of India by Europeans, and find, that instead of three, they allow four rupees per month, on an average, for the support of a native, his wife and family, (see p. 38.) This does not, however, materially alter the case. If my remarks on this point be correct, they apply with nearly, if not entirely the same force to the assertion here alluded to. The writer of the article mentioned, further observes, in the same page, that “ a European would be miserable with ten times that sum: it would scarcely purchase for his family the common necessities of life, leaving nothing for old age, and allow of no provision for the education of his children, who must gradually lose the peculiarities of the European, and imbibe the vices of the Asiatic character.” Although what I have said in the body of the Essay obviates the necessity of taking any notice of the objections here stated, yet I may be permitted to add a very few words by way of note. If this remark, which is evidently founded upon an erroneous calculation, be just, the objection may apply to the colonization of India by Europeans, but cannot apply to the colonization of Hindoosthan by East Indians, who, upon my plan, need not fear the consequences apprehended by the writer of the remark in question. They may, without hesitation, set it down as a thing quite possible, that ere they become superannuated, and therefore helpless, their children will be

Although it is not necessary to carry this part of the question any farther, yet in order

old enough to maintain and comfort them, by carrying on their business. If they have no sons, they may adopt into their family orphan and other indigent boys, whose parents would perhaps be glad to part with them for such a purpose ; or, as hereafter recommended, they may receive apprentices ; and if they cannot themselves educate their children in their leisure hours, of which, I have already shown, they will command many, several of them may join together, and employ a qualified European or East Indian to do it, who may be paid for his labour as *Ichabod Crane* was, who, we are told by *Geoffrey Crayon* in his ' *Legend of the Sleepy Hollow*,' " was according to country custom in those parts, boarded and lodged at the houses of the farmers whose children he instructed : with these (adds the author) he lived successively a week at a time ; thus going the rounds of the neighbourhood, with all his worldly effects tied up in a cotton handkerchief." Without recommending exactly the system of *Ichabod*, we may say, some such plan, which will readily suggest itself to our colonists, might easily be adopted to secure a *decent education* for their children. We cannot advert to the concluding part of the objection without great surprise. Whatever be the *peculiarities of the European character*, to us it matters little, if the absence of them does not amount to a necessary exchange for the *vices of the Asiatic*. That it does not, we readily avow as our decided opinion. We do not believe, that there is such a necessary connection between the two, or that by a European's merely setting up as a farmer, or in any other capacity in Asia, (for they need not neglect the education of their children wherever they are,) they will, without any possibility of avoiding, catch the infectious wicked habits of its inhabitants ; nor do we believe that the soil, air, and education of the labouring class of people of Europe, are so superior as to place them beyond the reach of all those vices which prevail amongst the Asiatics, except it be that of idolatry, which, however much it is to be regretted, exists in every Christian country,—in some, in the worst sense of the word, and in others, in a more refined shape ! Although I differ in some points with the writer of the article already alluded to, I have much pleasure in recommending it to the perusal of my readers, for its just exposure of the injustice and impolicy of Mr. Wheatley's plan, of which it is a review, and the judicious replies to the objection he has thrown out against Christianity, which I have been not a little surprised to find in a pamphlet, the subject of which has not the most distant connection with the truth or falsehood, or the principles of the Christian system.

that the East Indians might have a comprehensive detail of the circumstances of the farmers, and thereby be enabled to form a correct estimate of the facilities and difficulties they would meet with in the event of their making up their minds to colonise the country, I feel myself called upon to make a few additional remarks.

In most of the districts in the Lower Provinces, the native farmers usually procure fish, oil, salt, and many other necessities of life, as I have already stated, by bartering rice for them; but the produce of the paddy fields is not the only thing they have to depend upon for the support of their families. In addition to this, they have their sugar-cane, mustard, sesamum, pease, pulse, potatoes of sorts, gram, plantains, bulbous roots, and vegetables of various descriptions; melons, barley, ginger, turmeric, onions, garlic, chillies, cotton, &c. All these, with the exception of the first and last articles, they convey to market, and dispose of for ready money, by which means, they are enabled to bring home such articles of domestic need or agricultural utility, as they require to supply themselves with immediately. In this instance, it appears that labour is the

procuring cause of money. It would now seem to be a fit opportunity for their ridding themselves from the endless grasps of their Muhajuns ; but superstitious rites are so dreadfully in their way, that on them they must lay out the best part of their extra earnings, through dread of disgrace and infamy, which leaves their Muhajuns as much their lords as ever.

The sugar-cane is manufactured into sugar by a remarkably cheap and easy process ; but as the manufacturers receive advances for this article likewise, the Muhajuns usually make away with the most part of it, though it is true they advance ready money for it. The cotton shares a similar fate, and leaves the cultivators under the necessity of procuring cotton from the bazar for the use of the spinners at home, who spin it into thread. The thread thus obtained, is woven for *them* into cloth by the weavers, who are not seldom paid with paddy for their trouble. It will be observed, that I have confined my notices to the inhabitants of the poorest part of the country. I have done this purposely to show, that with all the consequence and value, we are in the habits of ascribing to the shining power of things, <sup>mere</sup> <sub>art</sub>

are men, and those of the agricultural denomination too, who do certainly contrive to secure support for themselves and families without having much to do with cash, and who yet virtually lay out considerably more than three rupees per month. It is worthy of particular remark here, that notwithstanding their notorious indolence of character, the aborigines are able to furnish themselves with the necessaries of life, which, such as they are, could not be procured for three rupees per month in hard cash. If such is the case with the despised aborigines, it must be granted, that the East Indians would be able to surpass them in every respect, and that there can be nothing in the nature of things to prevent their deriving better support from the adoption of the means recommended to them than the former with their celebrated economy. Where then are the impediments which prevent their cheerfully, vigorously, and successfully entering upon the plan of colonization ?

Thus far, I have, I trust, fairly removed every objection which has been urged to the colonization of Hindoosthan by East Indians. I shall now consider what appear

to me something like obstacles. The most formidable of these, is the peculiar turn of mind and feelings of the East Indians themselves. I verily believe, that scarcely a single individual of that body would hesitate a moment to colonize the country, if they could command the means of purchasing estates, that would yield such sums, as would place it in their power to maintain the rank of gentlemen-farmers, whilst scarcely fifty would step forward, in the absence of that ability, to enter upon the occupation of downright farmers ; drive their oxen before them ; dig their land ; manufacture their indispensable furniture ; churn their butter, &c. Circumstances, in some measure, it is allowed, oblige them to choose the employment of the copyist. The laborious, though variegated and independent, life of the farmer, does not seem to hold forth such allurements to their confined views, as driving their goose-quills eternally in the capacity of mercenaries. They are not, it is to be feared, given to meditate upon the circumstance, that the occupation of a sedentary transcriber, has, more than any things else, a direct tendency to undermine a man's valuable constitution, an

effect, which, though it be not immediately perceptible to himself, is most certainly seen by others, and felt by his offspring, who are, therefore, progressively degenerating in those active qualities, the absence of which so prominently strikes our notice in the characters of the pusillanimous aborigines. Our *writers* ought to be well aware, that they, by no means, escape reaping the *fruits* of a field ploughed with goose-quills. Will they not admit, that they have found themselves more pulled down by labour at the desk of only a few hours in a day, than when they have occupied themselves in a more robust or active work? Let them only take the trouble to trace the present effects of the inactive and dull lives they lead, and they will find it an easy matter to detect the causes, not only of their being obliged to use spectacles before they regard themselves old men, but of all that debility of their system which reduces them to the unpleasant alternative of applying for pensions. Of what use are they to society afterwards? Instead of flourishing in the meridian of their powers, at forty, behold them creeping through life, as if fit for nothing but to be shortly tumbled into their ready

graves, and all further remembrance of them obliterated by a premature tomb ! An individual of this description has the whole of his energies exercised, or rather bartered, for a scanty pension. Society has nothing more to do with him, and he is a living monument of the unwholesome propensity to scribbling for money ! After his departure from a world of so much folly, what becomes of those who have been committed to his care, not to be prematurely abandoned to inevitable wretchedness, but to be put in the way of proving serviceable to the community, and along with that, to themselves ? What a killing reflection must there not be produced in the minds of those who have wasted their time in an occupation to which they had no other reasons to devote themselves but what consist in the turn of their feelings, and the nature of their sentiments respecting those pursuits and vocations of life, which, by other nations are thought to be most desirable and honourable, when they come to be laid on the bed of death, surrounded by those unoffending creatures whom they had been the instruments of bringing into the world, and are about to



leave, the deserted victims of pitiable pride and indolence, in a place, of which the doors to prosperity are barred against them, and beyond which there is indeed nothing more than a *probable* pension of a paltry pittance! Is not such a spectacle almost daily witnessed in the metropolis of Bengal? Is not the prospect getting more gloomy apace? And who can sum up the approaching evil?

The farmer draws his nourishment from the very bosom of nature, and not after her fruits have undergone changes by passing through fifty different channels. In plainer language,—the nature of the circumstances connected with his industrious line of life is such, that it not only preserves his constitution from untimely decay, but removes him at a comfortable distance from those scenes and localities which are impregnated with chagrin, and a thousand perplexities to which the powers of the copyist unduly fall a sacrifice. His field-labours tend to promote health, to which the salubrious air of the country, and the absence of a host of jarring emotions which exist in the city, combine to contribute. While the emaciated, spectre-like copyist of a teeming

city, at forty, totters through existence in quest of a precarious maintenance, and a scanty pension at last, the hale and sturdy farmer, at double that age seems to bloom ; whom, while the snow of longevity marks out as a traveller to another world, the tokens of his being the initiated child of nature play upon his cheerful visage ; his firm gait indicates further laborious properties, and his unclouded countenance exhibits the badge which independence loves to bestow upon those who court her influence, while his bony members declare that they could yet make the earth yield her increase, and the fleecy flocks their tribute ! Far removed from the contaminating effects of the haunts of those who infect even the air with discontent, and who dissipate their lives for they know not what, he inhales the salubrious breeze of the enlivening fields, which, as they shake the golden harvest that his hands have reared around his rural abode, waft serenity towards his breast, and the smile of satisfaction plays on every dear face that surrounds him. This our bards knew, and made their ready muses to pour forth their enraptured lays in the celebration of it ;—but when and where have they

thought it worth their pains to sing an ode to the scribe\*? There must be something at the bottom of the propensity to scribbling for money, which we find so universally carrying every thing before it in the metropolis of British India. My singular business is to endeavour to clear the way of colonization; and as the East Indians' gaining their precarious morsel chiefly by following the profession of clerks, appears to be a serious impediment to it, every means must be used to remove it. I will therefore trace it to its very source, and point out how it originates, and how it eventually, and almost irresistibly destroys the common impulse which every man receives from nature to

\* It seems this assertion must be retracted; for at length, some friends of the *writer caste*, named William and Mary Howitt, (which by the way, is somewhat awkward; for if our Marys, and Anns, and Kittys turn advocates for the pen against us, we must soon give up our cause as hopeless,) have thought proper to honour the eternally scribbling instrument of our worthy tribe of writers with—shall we call it an ode, or elegy, or what? for we confess ourselves to be so little versed in the art of manufacturing 'airy nothings' into 'local habitations', that we might as well attempt to trace their lineal descent from 'the man in the moon,' as to tell what this exquisite piece of homage to THE PEN is.—After all, it may not be improperly called, *merely a few stanzas*: but whatever it is, and such as it is, the reader may see it in the *Eclectic Review* for July 1827; and those who think themselves honoured by this signalization of the 'arrow of their secret will' are quite welcome to triumph at it: for our parts, we would have thought it a greater service done to us, if it had been altogether withheld from the public.

help himself. But perhaps this superior satisfaction is reserved for some one more potent in talents, and possessing withal more genuine philanthropy, more persuasive command of words and wisdom, more fertility of thought, and purity of diction, than Addison himself possessed, who by means of black and white secured the merit of having reformed an age of folly. So be it. My object will be answered thereby; and when it is accomplished, whoever may be the favoured instrument, the devoted friend to colonization might well clap his hands for joy, even then when India shall no longer blush for the children of *her old age*!

It can hardly have failed to strike the attentive mind, that the disposition to which I allude, seems to originate in the circumstances of the birth of the East Indians, their parentage and education, and the sphere in which they move, and the singular constitution of the government under the sway of which they have been placed. The majority of the present generation are either the immediate offspring of Europeans, or of their children. The chief, and probably, the only object of the peregrination of Europeans in this prolific country, is, with a

solitary exception or two, the acquisition of fortunes, with a view to its enjoyment on their return to their native land. All their pursuits are confined within this contracted bound. Every undertaking has direct reference to this; and every faculty, fully and most actively, is exercised to attain it. India is not their birthplace, its genuine sons are not their kindred, and its graves (if such a supposition will be allowed) are not to be opened for the reception of their bodies. What is India to them, and they to India, beyond the securing of pecuniary independence, or more than a counting-house? what more than a mart of lucre, to which they resort, acquire their darling lacks, and anon spread out the sails, and turn the helms of their Arguses towards their respective transatlantic regions, which, most fortunately for India, rejoice in their successful returning people. But when the shores of this country are distanced, the good of the land, with all its wonders, is consigned to forgetfulness!

The illegitimate children of these, are necessarily abandoned to their doubtful fortunes, in the country which was the fruitful soil of their parents' prosperity. It would

appear, that they could not have been committed to a better place ; but they are left with their hands and feet manacled. They do not perish, it is true ; and many of them are helped to find their way to England to receive an English education, where they not only receive that, but over and above acquire a set of thoughts (their nursery having had the effect of purgatory to destroy Asiatic ones) more congenial to occidental than oriental affairs. There, as they secure the rudiments of learning, and associate with beings who are not in the slightest degree interested in the concerns of that country to which our education-hunters must inevitably return, and which will be the only place of their future abode and field of labour,—there, I say, by a common operation of sentiments and adventitious circumstances, they imbibe a censurable indifference for the place of their nativity. On their return to India, they find the tone of public feeling so very heterogeneous, and the state of things so very different from that which they had lately quitted, and their prospects of temporal prosperity so beclouded, that the first springs of youthful ardour receive a blow so irrecoverable, though not fatal, as checks

and damps, and effectually cripples the energies of their minds. They seem to be petrified with the sudden turn given to their ideas and feelings : their plans and pursuits all at once become so different from what they had been habituated to, that they must instantaneously look upon themselves as greater strangers in their own country than where they went to have their minds enlightened, and their principles qualified. As they are not by degrees prepared for the unavoidable transition, they are plunged in the midst of insurmountable obstacles to whatever they propose to adopt and pursue, on the violent spur of the moment, as a means of gaining a livelihood, and ultimately of securing a fortune. If they have the boast of competency, they for a time maintain that independence of spirit which has been implanted in their minds, in a land where liberty floats in the ambient air ; but as money thus wasted makes daily a wider and wider rent in their purses, the remainder soon makes wings to itself, and flies past recall. Penury and disgrace now begin to make their unpleasant appearance, and haunt their confused minds almost to desperation ; and though with a nameless im-

prudence, they launch into debt, and thereby contrive to sport out a retrograding character a little longer, the period at length arrives when all is at an end, and they are at a dead stand. Now conceive what they can do in such a critical juncture. At whichever door they knock, the echo of disappointment causes their fainting bosom to thrill with woes. In some this naturally enough proves a fatal overthrow of hope, and with it a total wreck of probity and honesty! Their perturbed minds wander away from the pleasant and safe path of rectitude. We have watched their footsteps, and found them drowning their woes in the pernicious bowl. The last stage of their wretched progress is an untimely grave, which (awful thought!) completes the loss of both worlds. Others retain their notions of honour, which enables them to take a somewhat more steady survey of the appalling scene. They find it necessary to come to the determination of turning scribes, or perish through hunger, or rot in the big depôt of misery which lies at the end of the gay Course at the southern extremity of the city. Principle actuates them to resort to the public offices, in which they remain



swelling with vexation, racked perpetually with disappointed hopes, baffled schemes, and thwarted purposes; exposed to the piercing contumely of the great; harassed with fears; while their heart-strings are ready to break to pieces at the forebodings of what will ere long come upon their poor unoffending and unprovided-for families, when the king of terrors shall knock at their doors, and call the *hope* of their dear ones to the burying-ground! If “care” will “make a young man grow gray,” here is more than sufficient to produce such an effect, and, I add, to “turn him ere long into clay” likewise. But I have run through the tragedy a little too rapidly; for it should have been related, that long before so doleful a termination of their mortal career, they perceive themselves the members of a society totally unlike the one in which they had very probably fondly cherished a hope of having abundant opportunities of moving, and perhaps cutting a conspicuous figure, on their arrival in the country. In this curious circle they encounter opinions, that partake of a ridiculous admixture of half European and half Asiatic; dissipation without genuine cordiality; ostentation without re-

putation ; emulation without capacity ; plans without resources ; and assumption without gentility. They must, notwithstanding all these, take up with it, or become exiles in the heart of an overflowing metropolis ; or they must prepare to return to the country from which they had a little while ago embarked with all the pride of an English education. This, however, they no longer can command the means of doing, and there, according to the Indian proverb, “ a blind uncle is better than no uncle at all,” they must prefer that which they cannot help choosing. What creates that unhappy state of mind, which prevents the introduction of nobler sentiments is, as has been very properly observed by some, the society individuals move in, or the books they are wont to pore over. Every street is beset with crowds of writers, and there is scarcely a house one goes to, but where one, or two, or more, are to be seen ; and probably talking about the events transpiring in the offices, which is their most usual topic of conversation ; and otherwise their conversation consists of nothing but writing and writers, desks and drawers, half margins and whole margins, sections and selections, salaries and

pensions, in so much that one would imagine our East Indians to have got into an element totally impregnated with pen, ink, and paper ; and that they are become their meat and drink, and comfort too. I do not mean to say, that such a thing is an anomaly ; for it is certain, that in like manner, the followers of every other profession are wont to have their minds engrossed with the things and circumstances most familiar to them. In process of time, their habits grow upon them, especially where necessity cuts off every chance of a successful result to their pursuits. They have not the privilege of choosing their associates. The higher circles are not accessible to them, and when they are, it is attended with circumstances which in a very short time compel them to shun them with feelings of utter dissatisfaction and mortification. On the other hand, their ideas of superiority over the aborigines, whose mean practices, and vulgar, not to say obscene deportment, cause them to shrink away with disgust from their company. They retain the remnant of independence of mind, while the natives glory in despicable subserviency : they stifle the groan of dependence, but these thrive in servitude.

Such of the East Indians as never left their native country, enter the world with a somewhat different feeling: they have from their earliest infancy, been familiarized with the circumstances that strike the comers from abroad with embarrassing novelty, and are not, consequently, affected in the same proportion. They are, in some degree, reconciled to their condition; yet I cannot, on the whole, pronounce their case to be very different from that of the others. Both feel in an equal degree what it is to be a mere cipher in their own country; to be curbed in their career, to be circumscribed in their wishes, and to suffer indescribable hardships, which are produced by various inauspicious circumstances. Their minds being enervated in the very dawn of reason, and resisted in their native scope, are so effectually unhinged as to render it problematical, whether they can be restored to that tone which is requisite to enable them to endeavour to appear in a more hopeful character than their present exhibits to our view.

Giving due weight to these considerations, it will be allowed, that the propensity I have been describing, or rather have

been endeavouring to account for, originates in the circumstances mentioned ; in their birth, parentage, and education ; the sphere in which they move, and the peculiar constitution of the government under the sway of which they are placed. The fact, that the East Indians have not been able to go beyond the metropolis, demands pity rather than censure ; for what could they do otherwise ? They were, and thousands of them to this very moment are, in every respect, ignorant of the resources of the interior. They had none who thought it worth his while, or to whom it ever occurred, to prevail upon them to spread themselves to the right and left ; none to show them the facilities they could command to secure independence. They never imagined they could do without Calcutta, and pen, ink, and paper. It never entered into their heads, that colonization could be effected, or that the effecting of it would do them any real good : nay, to such a degree had their minds been, and are even now, wedded to the affairs of the city, and to such an extent did, and does, their false notions of respectability and degradation prevail, that it would perhaps have been

looked upon as an unpardonable affront to have advised them to attempt any thing that would have placed them on a level with the aborigines, and on which they could not enter but as common labourers, though it would most assuredly have been attended with beneficial consequences. They were in the dark respecting the fascinations of a rural life : how then could they love a thing which they were never afforded the means of beholding even in prospect? How could they perceive that there was any thing desirable in colonization? The present moment, and the present moment only, was sought to be provided for. Lulled to repose in the arms of ignorance, they suffered their best energies to be sapped, and their brightest prospects to be marred. Held under its firm grasp, they suffered themselves to be led to the refuse of all things, and were made to gnaw the husks of their transcribing trough. In this they not only centred the hopes of their future prosperity, but thought there was nothing else, to all appearance, besides what *that* could promise. To this they likewise taught, and to this hour teach, their little ones to aspire. In short (with a very few exceptions) this

is the *pleasant* line of demarkation, beyond which they *cannot*, nay, they *will not pass*. This is the maximum of their best wishes; and it is worthy of observation, with what intense emulation the present and the rising generation press on to come within this confined latitude! The bruit of a vacancy flashes forward like the coruscations of the Aurora Borealis,—is reiterated by a thousand voices, and vibrates through a thousand bosoms. Scarcely has the vacating scribe breathed his last, and a hundred hungry candidates are in active motion; and applications for his *place* are peppered upon him at whose disposal it happens to be. A hundred offices are troubled at the sound, and the inmates use their diligence to pop into a snug birth, as it is called. A vacancy! The hum of a bee could not convey a sweeter hope. To such a pass (*O tempora!*) have things been brought,—and what lies beyond it ought to be seriously pondered by the East Indians. But for all this, the East Indians, I say again, are more to be pitied than censured; but it will be their fault if they any longer confine themselves within their present narrow limits. It is my earnest advice, that they should betake

themselves to colonization, forsaking their desks for ploughs, and the city for the country.

The peculiarities of the regulations of the British India Government, cannot justly be termed an impediment to the colonization of the country by East Indians. It is not my province, nor is it necessary, to depreciate or extol them; but it must be mentioned, that those laws, most fortunately, do not provide against the plan I have proposed for the amelioration of the cheerless prospects of the East Indians. Those laws place them nearly on an equal footing with the aborigines, which is nothing more than perfect justice. It is worthy of the exalted name of Englishmen. It might be made to appear, that in some very minor points, they lean towards the aborigines; but on the whole, the scales will evidently preponderate in favour of the East Indians, if the subject be maturely considered\*. The

\* There is a remark in the 1st No. of the Quarterly Series of the Friend of India (p. 68) on this subject, 'which must have appeared somewhat curious to its readers, coming, as it does, from a quarter where it could have least been expected: we refer to the following. " It is a fact, that, in case of intrigue or injury, it is in most cases easier for a native to obtain justice against a European, than a European to obtain redress, if insulted or wronged by a native. This circumstance, attended as it may be with some inconvenience, reflects



*summum bonum*, however, is left without flaw or fetter. The regulations do not prohibit the East Indians' cultivating their native soil; and the East Indians, it seems, are little aware of the gratitude which such a circumstance should produce in their minds, and of which the best proof they can afford is the availing themselves of the opening left them for the exercise of their energies to the advancement of their highest interest. They should lift up their eyes to heaven, and bless the overruling power of the Almighty! It is a precious boon: yes, far more so than the late concession made as to their eligibility to sit on juries. So far, therefore, from considering the existing enactments as detriments, they ought to be hailed as the most valuable auxiliaries to colonization.

*the highest honour on the British name."* Ergo, *the difficulty which an Englishman experiences in obtaining redress against a native, when insulted or wronged, reflects the highest honour on the British name!*—and "a fact, of which," it is added, "India affords almost *the first instance* on record in the annals of history;" and of which, we may further add, the Editors of the *Friend of India* are the *first* recorders! Be it so. The reader will perceive, that the writer of this *Essay* only says, that the Government's placing the East Indians on the same footing with the aborigines, is worthy of the exalted name of Englishmen. The inequalities or political partialities, if they will be so called, to which the writer alludes, it is hoped, will, in time, be removed.—*Editor.*

The placing of the East Indians on an equality with the aborigines, cannot, in any point of view, be construed as an impediment to the execution of the plan proposed for their adoption. If it be granted, that there are defects in the administration of the laws, it must, at the same time, be allowed, that the aborigines are by no means exempt from the effects of them. But they are defects which are not peculiar to the judicial administration of India. They are easily described, but never remedied ; and as the governing men are not angels in India, they are naturally expected here as well as any where else. We should not hope for purer men here than we meet with in other more civilized countries. Time only can and may mend the defects ; but there is not the slightest reason why the East Indians should wait for such a reformation, and not immediately undertake what, as we have already observed, is left unhindered by the laws of the country.

We have in a former part of this Essay observed, that although the aborigines are endeavouring to engross all yet unoccupied lands, cultivated or uncultivated, there are still immense tracts untouched, and easily

procurable, either by purchase or on long leases. Any objections, therefore, on this score, need scarcely be further noticed. We may, however, add, with a view of setting forth the subject in the clearest light possible, that several East Indians are the avowed and legitimate proprietors of extensive Talooks or Zumeendarees. Others again have large Indigo Concerns ; and many more have ample means of becoming respectable landholders. Were they to lay out a few thousands towards the purchase of immovable property in the Mofussil, how easily, and at what an insignificant price, could they put it within the reach of their less favoured fellow countrymen to enter upon agricultural pursuits, and, at the same time, be the greatest gainers by it themselves ! What praise would be theirs ! But I am certain, that lands to almost any extent could be obtained from the native Zumeendars in any part of Hindoosthan, into which immigration or ingress is not expressly interdicted. A commencement would, at any rate, be immediately made. I could point out vast portions of uncultivated land, which invite trial ; and the tilling of which, whilst it would answer the purposes of the colonists, would

tend to the benefit of the proprietors, as well as to bring in considerable revenue to Government in process of time. It is not to be expected, (nor would it be at all prudent,) that the East Indians should rise up in a body, pack up their moveables, and immigrate into the interior. The work must be gradual. Indeed I have much reason to fear, that a very few of them only would be able to exercise self-denial enough to put up with the occupation of downright farmers immediately; yet one or two hundred families might come forward, who could be forthwith accommodated with a sufficiency of lands in any part of Bengal, and the central provinces. One question would still, however, remain to be decided. Supposing a hundred candidates for colonization started up at once, what would be the best mode of commencing the prosecution of their design? I shall throw out a few hints, by way of developing a plan, which, I think, might be adopted with success; but let the reader judge for himself how far it is practicable.

In the first place, a meeting of those East Indians whose minds may be impressed with the utility of affording facility to the

plan of colonization should be convened. I do not think it would be taking too much upon myself to say, that many will be found who would embrace the object with cordiality. Every thing else of a temporary nature might be treated with indifference by East Indians, but *this* could not. ✱ The first object of the meeting should be to select a number of proper persons to form a Committee of Management, whose business, in the first instance, would be, to raise about 8 or 10 thousand rupees or more, which, I have every reason to believe, they could with very little difficulty accomplish. Objects of much less moment meet with the readiest encouragement, and will one of such consequence be slighted? Foreigners and the aborigines *may* not be found amongst the foremost to aid the cause, but doubtless there will be found East Indians who would most cheerfully bestow their assistance to the utmost of their power. This I am naturally led to hope, not only from the circumstance of their best interest being intimately associated with the success of the objects of the Committee who may be appointed; but from conversations, which I

have had with several persons, both East Indians\* and Europeans, who have expressed their earnest wish, that the East Indians would turn their attention to agricultural and such other pursuits. Every motive that is interesting and powerful calls upon them to appear now, in order to promote the welfare of their countrymen. The next business of the Committee should be to collect information on every point connected with the future work of the colonists, which may suggest itself to them ; and to invite those who may be disposed to enter upon it. Supposing that only 20 candidates for colonization were to offer themselves, though it is possible more would come forward, it will be then necessary for the Committee to look out for a sufficient quantity of land to set them up. If the mere matter of support be considered, 30 beeghas would be more than enough for each ; but as my plan embraces a wider latitude, it would be requisite to allow them 100 beeghas each ; so that 2000

\* I take this opportunity to acknowledge my gratitude to several persons who have interested themselves much in the publication of this Essay ; but especially to the gentleman at Furrookhabad, who has exceeded my expectation, and by whose remarks on the subject I was extremely gratified. I hope he will not fail to make his suggestions on the plan of this Essay, when he reads it, and send them to me through the same channel through which I received his first communication.

beeghas should be taken up at the very onset. And supposing that adequate means could not be immediately realized for the *purchase* of an estate of that extent, however small the amount of purchase might be, it may be *rented*, and in that case, the annual *juma* per beegha should not exceed one rupee\*, which would render the Committee answerable (they would not have to pay more than six months rent, as I shall presently show) for the payment of 2000 rupees at the end of the year. The support of the 20 individuals will in the next place require to be attended to. Supposing we allow six months to enable them to settle themselves. During these six months they could not only put their lands in a proper train of cultivation, but the first crop of rice would be by that time in a state of forwardness. If they entered upon their labours in the month of February, we might allow two months for the constructing of comfortable houses for themselves. While this was going on, they could plough up a bee-

\* I could point out certain parts of the country where two or three beeghas could be had for 1 Rupee. Should my hopes be realized and a Committee formed for the purpose of setting on foot colonization, I shall be happy to furnish them with every information in my power, on such points as they may wish to know.

gha of ground each, and get up a variety of vegetables for immediate use ; but as they could not very likely make a shift to live under temporary sheds, while their houses are building, (though it is not impossible,) we shall allow the two months to expire without any other sort of work : during this time, however, as the buildings would be raised under the direction of the Committee, they would not of course require to be supported by them. The Committee might depute one of their own number, or one of the candidates who is a single man, and might be willing to superintend the erections personally, or a native under security, to do it. He should be an active man, and recommended by some gentleman well acquainted with him. This would not, however, be an object of much difficulty to accomplish. As soon as the houses are ready, which ought to be before the 1st of April, the colonists should enter upon their labours, and proceed to cultivate such things as relate to immediate convenience, as observed above ;—sow their vegetables, and make themselves in other respects comfortable. The getting up of one or two beeghas of vegetables need not take



up more than ten days at the farthest ; but we will allow a whole month for that purpose. After this, they should throw out their energies to prepare their lands against the season of sowing rice (paddy). The lands should be ploughed over and over again, and manured plentifully. The dung of the cattle they should be furnished with, will suffice for that purpose. The first crop of rice would be gathered in September : by which time their poultry, &c. will have swelled up to a multitude by proper management, which they need not touch before that period, as I would propose that the Committee afford them the means of sustenance\*. After their first crop has been barned, further support from the Committee, should cease altogether ; in case of failure, the Committee might furnish them with rice sufficient to last till the ingathering of the first crop of the next year, which, if any surplus be left from the sum collected in the first instance, they might purchase with it : should none be left, they might make a fresh

\* To prevent the invasion of jackalls, and other destructive animals, sufficient ground should be surrounded with *Kunchees*, limbs of bamboos, or some such material, for the poultry, &c. to remain confined there during the day, and covered with the same materials, to secure the chickens, goslings, &c. from kites.

application to the friends of colonization for further assistance, of which a very trifling portion would now be required from each individual to meet the exigency. They might either do this, or allow the colonists three or four rupees more in addition to what I shall presently recommend to be granted to them per month. I am decidedly of opinion, that each individual farmer, with a moderate family, could be comfortably supported by an allowance of 16 rupees per month; but they may be allowed 20 rupees each. Let not the small sum, as it is in appearance, have any discouraging or dissuading effects on the minds of the candidates; for let them remember, that though they might earn more than double that amount in Calcutta, yet if they sit down and make a calculation, they will find, that their residence in it runs away with the best part of their salaries, and that they really do not consume more food than would amply be procured for 12 rupees per month. House-rent, servants' wages, doctor's bills, vegetables, fish, poultry, mutton, beef or pork, fruits, and a variety of other useful nick-nacks, taken together, make such a rent in their salaries as

to ensure the expenditure of the whole and more per month. But if they become farmers, all those articles would be provided for by 16 rupees, in a line of life where the labour of their hands would prevent their laying out ready money on almost any thing, if they are industrious. But more of this in its proper place.

To carry on my calculation. It is plain the colonists would require to be supported for six months ; allowing, therefore, 20 rupees to each, it would come to 2,400 rupees. The erection of comfortable houses (which should have mud walls) at 100 rupees each, would cost 2000 rupees more. We must make a further allowance for the purchase of cattle, poultry, &c. Each colonist may have one pair of plough oxen, one ox for the oil-mill, and two milch cows ; all which I reckon at 680 rupees ; add to which rupees 1120 for the purchase of poultry, pigs, sheep, and farming utensils, making a total of rupees 2400, and a grand total of 6300 rupees. The following table will exhibit the matter of expenses more clearly.

## TABLE OF EXPENDITURE.

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Frection of 20 Houses at 100 Rs. each, ~~~~~	2000
Provisions for 6 months for the Colonists, at 20 Ru- pees per month, ~~~~~	2400
40 Pairs of Plough Oxen at 16 Rs. per pair, ~~~~~	640
20 Oxen for Oil-Mills, at 12 Rs. each, ~~~~~	240
40 Milch Cows, at 10 Rs. each, ~~~~~	400
Poultry, &c. 56 Rs. to each colonist, ~~~~~	1120
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 2400
<div style="text-align: right;"> <hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/> <b>Total, Sa. Rs. 6800</b> </div>	

If 10,000 rupees could be raised, it would not only meet the above expenses, but every other expense which it might be necessary to incur at the outset. I shall be permitted to repeat my conviction, that an object like this would meet with much more encouragement, than I have thought it requisite to assume, for the sake of instituting a probable calculation of the expenditure that might be incurred in the attempt to put in execution the plan of colonization I have recommended. *C*

It will probably be asked, How will it be possible for one individual to manage 100 beeghas of ground single handed, and that

with only two pairs of oxen? In order to obviate this difficulty, I must introduce the second part of my plan, which is, that each individual should be allowed the assistance of three or four apprentice-boys, and as many girls, for a period not exceeding seven years, and not less than six. By the help of these, he could very well manage 100 beegahs of land. As to the ploughing of that extent of land with only two pairs of oxen, it would not be deemed preposterous, if the colonists were to form themselves into five parties: each party could plough the land of each individual, compassing it alternately, very successfully. This, and also planting and weeding, are very frequently effected by the natives in a similar manner. Before the expiration of the term for which the apprentices may be bound, others might be procured. The first batch having been brought up as farmers, and having become adepts in the details of the agricultural life, and become acquainted with the state of the neighbouring country, could easily procure lands for themselves. If they have recommended themselves to their employers, it would not be a difficult matter to prevail upon them to advance them a small sum of money to build habitations,

and purchase a small stock for themselves. It would be as well for the Committee to make an agreement previously with the colonists, to furnish their apprentices with plough-oxen and a sufficient stock of poultry, &c. gratuitously, at the time of their discharge. This is, however, a by-the-way suggestion, which the Committee may or may not adopt, as they please: at least, they will be able to improve upon these scattered hints, and shape out for their management a plan more perfect in every respect—a thing which it would be impossible for me to attempt just now, without more time and consideration. But I must pass on to observe:—The necessity of uniting female apprentices with male ones will appear evident when we come to consider, that the latter will require partners when they set up for themselves; and where should they go for them? Very few indeed could be found who would even make tolerable wives for farmers, and fewer still would be willing to become such. But six or seven years apprenticeship will not only have accustomed them to such a life, but will have made them mistresses of the art of managing such branches of a farmer's do-

mestic affairs, as in a particular manner belong to the female sex\*.

It is true, that besides the first outlay, as we have already stated, the Committee will be answerable for the rent of the lands ; but they will only be obliged to pay for two quarters, which would be refunded by the colonists when their first crop was gathered. Moreover, the colonists should be bound to discharge the whole amount expended in establishing them ; but of course convenient time should be allowed for the purpose.

In a foregoing place I have remarked, that there would be no necessity for the East Indian colonists to labour in the open air during the heat of the day. This arrangement would give them the command of a very valuable portion of their time. They could employ themselves with their apprentices in weaving, and manufacturing various articles, such as oil, sugar, tobacco, candles, cheese, shoes, ropes, &c. &c. ; but chiefly those, the materials of which they

\* It would not be undesirable for our colonists to take in one or two fresh apprentices every year, and as they worked out their time, there would be a constant succession of cultivators thrown into the country, who receiving apprentices or coadjutors, would contribute to the speedy formation of little villages, and thus colonization would be carried on expeditiously.

shall have reared on their own lands. Surely it would not be too much to expect, that they could discharge the Committee's debt from emoluments acquired by attending to these and various other handicrafts during the hours of relaxation from the more sturdy labours of the field. If their fields, kitchen-gardens, ponds, poultry, and cattle yielded them a sufficiency, and more than a sufficiency of means of independent support, what else they earned by their manufactures, would enable them to testify their gratitude to their benefactors by the tender, at least, of what had been expended to lay the foundation of their future prosperity. But this is a circumstance on which I would not lay much stress; the state of things, as it may turn out, when they have actually set about to operate—the conditions on which they might possibly be able to procure persons to commence the work of colonization—and various other considerations, render it impossible to decide this point just now with precision. Supposing, however, it were found possible to recover the money originally laid out by the Committee, it could be laid out again, in making six months provision, as before, for the apprentices who may have



served out their time under the colonists, and wish to set up for themselves, as well as in helping fresh colonists. Measures might be adopted to receive, and dispose of the articles manufactured by the colonists, under the direction of the Committee, towards the liquidation of their respective debts. Each colonist would have to discharge a debt of only little more than 250 rupees, which they ought very conveniently to be able to do in the space of three years, which would only be 32 rupees odd annas per annum. But I am of opinion, that they could pay the whole off in the second year. I may observe here, that though the plan I have suggested requires the outlay of some money, it will be found in the end that success will have depended on the labours of the colonists, to the great honour and rejoicing of their benefactors, and the incalculable good of the East Indians.

It will be readily asked, But where are the apprentices to come from? I would reply, even thence, whence the colonists would be forthcoming. If these could be found, we may not despair of meeting with more apprentices than we could know what to do with. The Charity Schools teem with

youngsters, who I imagine, would not be reluctantly made over to our Committee. But I will not be such a dotard as to call my plan an infallible one, or suppose that it is not susceptible of improvement. Let our Committee once be embodied, and feasible plans will not be long in coming forward. It is a scheme, and will require proper deliberation before it be acted upon ; but it would border on folly to say, that colonization could not be effected at all. If the *Calcutta Apprenticing Society* has met with success, though the present features of their plans do not appear very conducive to it, the plan of colonization cannot possibly fail. If things have been brought to such an extremity, that people give their children to be brought up to the seafaring life—a life which in addition to the hazards to which it exposes those who enter it, cannot be pronounced to be the most cleanly in its subordinate branches, and beyond which, the marine apprentices have very little ground to hope to aspire, would there, under such circumstances, be less than the highest degree of probability to affirm, that colonization only needs to be proposed in order to be embraced ? But it will, it must succeed,

if the attention of the East Indians be once faithfully and seriously directed to it. The philanthropic motives of the Apprenticing Society must be justly applauded, and in the absence of any more promising field, its objects should be cordially promoted ; and, as I have reasons to believe it would not be disinclined to help colonization, especially as the plan here proposed embraces the trades likewise, its co-operation should be cultivated. The Agricultural Society too would be a valuable auxiliary, and to which I would humbly beg leave to propose the introduction of hops and tea into this country, if practicable, in preference to *fruits*. Their patronizing the improvement of European culinary vegetables is worthy of their benevolent views, and will succeed to a very great extent. I have some doubts, however, as to the success of the fruits they are cultivating, because the lower parts of Bengal will prove uncongenial to their improvement, if they produce tolerable fruits at all. In the *higher* parts, most European fruits are to be plentifully met with. I have partaken of as good *peaches*, and *golden-pippin apples* in the Dukkhun as any European could wish to masticate. In

Lucknow and other places higher, a variety of excellent European fruits are to be met with in abundance. But their introduction into Bengal has invariably failed. It appears to me, that it would be well worth the Society's attention to endeavour to improve some of the indigenous fruits and vegetables of India: such as the mango (than which there is not, I suppose, a better fruit in the universe,) the pineapple, plantain, &c. I should recommend the mangoes to be imported from Goa—those which are called the ‘ Alphonso mangoes :’ mangosteens should not be forgotten.

I cannot leave this part of the subject without expressing the hope, that I have said enough to convince the most fastidious caviller, that most of the objections stated and reiterated against colonization are groundless; and that those which may be considered obstacles, are not such as are insurmountable. I have shown that the climate of India is no objection to it; that a competition, a successful competition, with the aborigines is perfectly feasible\*; that the regulations of the British Indian Govern-

\* What I have to say more on this subject, I have reserved for another chapter.

ment do not prohibit it ; that sufficient ground could be obtained for the purpose ; and that the only hinderance to it lies in the present disposition of the East Indians, the origin and progress of which I have briefly attempted to trace, and of the ultimate consequences of which I would warn them. I am not aware of any other objections of sufficient weight which require answer. I shall, therefore, dismiss this part of my essay with one word of advice to those who may be impressed with the necessity of undertaking colonization :—that they should lose no time to set about it. The prospects before them are of the most cheering nature. They should call to mind the time which has been suffered to pass away without any such efforts to ameliorate their present condition, which requires to be redeemed ; and the time that is before them *may* not (though I do not say it will not) admit of sufficient trial. The time *may* come soon, when they will perhaps see the country wrested (which God forbid!) from the hands of the present powers, when they (the East Indians) being unpossessed of the only sufficient motive to rise in their defence, it may be lost for ever to all the best of purposes!

## THE ADVANTAGES OF COLONIZATION.



AFTER pointing out the *necessity* and *practicability* of the colonization of Hindoosthan by East Indians, I proposed to exhibit the advantages of it ; but after what has been already said in the preceding pages, much of which must naturally have borne on the point now under consideration, and suggested many ideas of advantages to the reader's mind, little needs to be said further. In this chapter, therefore, after evincing, as briefly as possible, a very few of the numerous advantages which will result from the undertaking here recommended, I design showing somewhat more largely the advantages which the East Indians will be able to command over their aboriginal competitors. This point, it may be thought by some, ought to have most properly come under the preceding chapter, where I have attempted, in a few words, to show the possibility of the East Indians reducing their expenses to the extreme economical principles of the aborigines. It will be recollected by the attentive reader, that there I en-

deavoured to present him with some account of the manner in which the lower classes of the aboriginal agriculturists managed their affairs, and to expose the unfounded nature of the assertion, that they live upon three rupees per month. What I mean to advance, under the head here specified, will chiefly embrace such considerations as tend to demonstrate the perfect feasibility of the East Indians, not only maintaining a successful competition with the aborigines, but also commanding a variety of advantages which will place them on a superior footing. More of this, however, in its proper place.

The true nature of education is strangely misconceived by many : some have no idea of it, but what consists only in mental qualifications ; others only in moral ; whilst others again, only in the initiation into some of the useful or ornamental arts. It never occurs to them, that it might, perhaps, be an improvement upon their notion, to attempt a combination, in the nearest possible proportion of which the subject of it might be capable, of each of them, although the defects so palpably observable in the case of those unhappy individuals, upon whom

their different systems have been tried, might have been expected to have taught them better. It seldom seems to enter into the views of these men, that man is a compound of physical, mental, and moral parts ; that each of these parts severally and collectively stands in need of much improvement, and constant employment through life, to keep them in due order and temperament, and to conduce to that state, which, next to the higher end of his being, “ the glory of his Maker,” claims most properly his greatest attention ; and that unless each of these parts is disciplined by proper and useful exercises from the earliest stage of their existence which will admit of them, they will degenerate, by taking their natural course. The impolicy, not to use any harsher term, of confining the attention to any one of these component parts of man, to the neglect of the rest, must be obvious to those who have at all studied human nature. Our constitution is such, as to be susceptible, on the one hand, of improvement, by instruction, discipline, and exercise, and, on the other, of degeneracy, imbecility, and enervation, by neglect and idleness ; like iron, which by being cleaned shines more and



more; but being neglected, becomes rusty, The mind, the heart, and the body, are all the subjects of these different properties; each requires to be always exercised and kept in order, and each, in proportion as it is attended to or neglected, adds to or detracts from the enjoyments of life.

It was a useful maxim among the Jews, whose canons required, that all parents should teach their children some trade, that he who did not instruct his son in one made him a rogue. Hence it is well known, that the education of their children always included the knowledge of one or more of the arts. Of our Saviour the Jews relate that he made *rakes* and *yokes*; of Paul we know from the New Testament that he made tents; and the same we learn from very good authorities, of several of their rabbies, who were surnamed shoemakers, bakers, &c. The Grand Seignior, to whom Paul Reccaut was ambassador, was taught to make wooden spoons. On the benefits of such a plan of education it is necessary to enlarge here: something like this seems to be called for in the case of the East Indians, and we are glad to see exertions made to supply the deficiency; witness the *Calcutta Ap-*

*prenticing Society.* We hope the highly commendable spirit of enterprise and benevolence, which combined to call it forth into existence, and has hitherto countenanced and aided its useful operations, will be carried out beyond the limits of one single institution, and be displayed in the accomplishment of some such plan of ameliorating the condition of the East Indians, and making them more useful to the community to which they belong, to the country, and to the world at large, as is illustrated in these pages, which, by aiming to point out the advantages of pursuing agricultural and other mechanical arts, without excluding the sciences, may be allowed to be, in a great degree, calculated to ensure that end. It is not for a moment supposed by me, that a man entering on the occupation of a downright farmer, will be able to become a learned scholar ; he must, of course, be contented with a limited education. What, however, may it not be asked, is the present depth and extent of the learning of the body of East Indians ? Surely it measures very low and little ; but it is not absolutely necessary that our colonists should prescribe any given limits to

the literary acquirements of their children ; they may allow it as wide a range as their own leisure and the childrens' capacities and inclinations will suffer, without apprehending to make them worse workmen thereby\*.

In a former part of this essay, I said something of the healthful and delightful nature of a farmer's occupation, and also of the injurious tendency of a mere copyist's avocation. In general, it may be remarked, that whatever employment places the body in a quiescent, or in any great degree, and for any length of time, in an inactive situation, has a tendency to affect the health. Physicians for this reason, have usually recommended to students much manual or bodily exercise ; and we read of Milton and others, who indulged themselves in various recreations by way of exercise to their bodies. One of them, if I recollect right, is said to have himself declared, when much advanced in age, and suffering the consequence of extreme studious habits, that he would gladly part with all the learning he had acquired in early life, by sitting

\* For a more extended view of the subject, the reader is referred to Mr. Foster's valuable Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance.---Ed.

up late at study, if he could but recover his health. When the mind is intensely occupied with any thing, it causes a suspension of the animal functions, which weakens or relaxes their powers of action, and throws the system into disorder. Whilst this has been the case with almost every student of every country, it has been far otherwise with the farmers of every country. They are, according to universal acknowledgment, generally the most healthy, and, certainly, not the least useful, people of the countries to which they belong. “Luxury, avarice, injustice, violence, and ambition,” says Dr. Johnson, “take up their ordinary residence in populous cities ; while the hard and laborious life of the husbandman will not admit of these vices. The honest farmer lives in a wise and happy state, which inclines him to justice, temperance, sobriety, sincerity, and every virtue that can dignify human nature.” These thoughts might be carried out to a great extent ; but it would ill suit the limits of an essay, and considerations of another nature invite our attention. I proceed, therefore, to take a more general view of the question regarding the advantages of colonization.

The present feature of the country, in spite of its original inhabitants, is strangely barren, owing partly to mismanagement, and partly to the characteristic sluggishness of the people,—a people that will put their hands to nothing but what is immediately before them, and who labour without giving themselves the least trouble to think, whether any thing else might not be made to contribute more largely to their own benefit, and the improvement of the country. True, they are prospering, but it is at the expense of agriculture, which will sooner or later recoil upon them with interest. The rent of lands, on the other hand, is increasing astonishingly quick, while there is not a commensurate progression of improvement to counterbalance the inroads that are made upon their industry, miserable as it is. Forty years ago, the best lands did not pay for one beegha more than 8 or 12 annas *jumma* per annum, whereas these very lands now pay from three to four rupees for the same quantity; and, what is a notorious fact, they do not by any means yield so much as they did before. It may be affirmed with truth, that those of the aborigines who are prospering are a tax upon the rest: the rich are getting richer;

the poor turning poorer. In some districts, chiefly those of the eastern, there are hundreds of thousands of landed proprietors, who are, of course, independent, and not subject to increase of ground rent. This pleasing order of things generally affects the tranquillity of the poorer orders of people. Provisions there are not by far so dear as in other districts not thus circumstanced ; and though the inhabitants are not prospering, the few who are prospering, are not prospering, as in other quarters, at the expense of the poor. It could be no difficult matter to conceive here, that the body of the people would certainly prosper, if they could be prevailed upon to admit improvements in their present modes and implements of agriculture, which, as before shown, are extremely defective. These appear to be so urgently called for, that before their introduction, very little, if any, improvement can be hoped for ; and I am of opinion, that for this purpose, unless East Indian energy and intelligence are brought to bear upon the capabilities of the soil, neither the exigencies of the one will be met, nor the progressive improvement of the other description of districts,

ensured to any satisfactory degree, before a very long period. In spite of the restrictions imposed upon them by wicked and demoralizing customs, what the East Indians will do for their own benefit in their own premises, more conducive to the prosperity of agriculture and the useful arts in general, and, therefore holding out to them larger worldly emoluments, they, already become by experience somewhat deaf to the voice of their spiritual “ charmer, charming ever so wisely,” will not fail to adopt, at first, no doubt, cautiously, but ultimately, without scruple. To suppose, that those who have never yet been able to resist the fascination, in whatever minute degree it might have been presented to them, will, at any time hereafter, have acquired so much cynical indifference to gold, as to spurn its stronger, and, therefore, more irresistible enticements, when presented to their avaricious minds in larger shapes, would betray no small want of knowledge of their real character. Hence it is easy to imagine, that when they see the East Indians prospering by means of superior modes and implements, which they may introduce, the aborigines will not hesitate to substitute the

same, in the room of their present clumsy ones. Hence also, it is only necessary to scatter the East Indians over the country, which their present number would easily admit of, to give the first shock to the indifference of natives, and excite a spirit of emulation and industry in them. The country would soon present in every place a delightful and picturesque appearance,—a circumstance this which would have no little influence in refining and softening their present stoical feelings, and thereby making them more averse from those inhuman and horrid practices which now stain their character, in other respects tolerably fair ; and it is unnecessary to add, it would augment our own domestic comforts. The country would not only be agreeably studded with a body of teachers of agricultural improvements ; but a moral renovation would commence along with it. The people would soon begin to tax themselves with folly for their shameful supineness, and readily copy the examples in full operation before their view.

Besides the above interesting particulars, it is to be observed, that the country is spotted with numerous civil and military



stations, which are doomed to this day, to undergo the monstrous expense of procuring a variety of the necessaries of civilized life from the distance of some hundred miles ; and what amazes one most, is, that they have not conduced a jot to the prosperity of the circumadjacent places. The only reason that can be assigned with safety to the philanthropic reputation of those who preside over, and those who fill them, is, that the absence of a superior order of agriculturists and mechanics has been very much felt in those places hitherto, and will continue to be felt, so long as the East Indians (since Europeans will not be permitted) do not take the field, armed with ploughs and tools, and such other instruments of agriculture and mechanism as would be somewhat more promising than those antique and unwieldy ones, which may answer the jog-trot manœuvres of the natives ; but which, if a better state of things be aimed at, in the introduction of East Indian energy and skill into the field of manurance and other useful arts, must sooner or later be set aside as relics of antiquity, fit to be viewed as curiosities a century hence, but not used. The

locality of the supplies that would be raised by the industry of the colonist would, in a short time, put an effectual period to the waste (as it must be called) of cash above mentioned,--cash, frequently purchased at the mouth of cannons, and with the terrors of the deadly breach. Would not these individuals hail the day of the good things of colonization? And may not every friend to colonization be assured, that it would be encouraged by those who would feel it their interest to have those things, for which they pay so dearly now, at their beck? Nay more, our epicureans would thereby have within reach several of the delectable morceaus to which their wide removes from the emporium of trade makes them strangers, and which they would have no objection to obtain from the farms near at hand.

Moreover, it is customary with Christians, as things now stand, to travel up and down the country chiefly in boats, at an amazing expenditure of cash. One of the reasons for it is, that no manner of accommodations of even a tolerably comfortable nature is procurable. The *suracees*, the only accommodations on the land routes, the usual filthiness of which, added to the wondering gaze

of the unceremonious mob, as if a monster was passing through the country ; the only species of eatables, coarse rice and indifferent dal, rank ghee and muddy salt ; with the not less remarkable part of these *agreeable* circumstances, the impudence of master *Choukeedar* ; present so repulsive an appearance to intending travellers by land, that they prefer going by water, though very heavily expensive. A person cannot travel with his needful comforts upon his back, like a pedlar with his nick-nacks. To set things to rights, let the high roads be lined with East Indian farmers, a few miles apart from each other, and hard by regular staging villages ; and would it be too much to say, that many of those who would not at present venture on a journey by land, would prefer it to proceeding by water, under the assurance of finding Christian accommodation in the way ? They would no longer dread the idea of transporting themselves through a country, where sickening fare, lousy mattress, and abashing gaze, must be expected. But by travelling by water carriage, which they are now obliged to do for want of cheaper modes of performing journies, they require

to carry every necessary along with them wherever they are bound to. This places them, I might say, so much at the mercy of a parcel of domestics, that they frequently do not fail to avail themselves of the ignorance of their masters, to impose upon them, by representing every article of necessary consumption at 200 per cent. above the real market-price. Expeditious travelling, in a great degree, if not altogether, precludes the possibility of detection ; but if you detect them, you cannot turn them out for fear of being obliged to act the part of your own cook ; nor may you inflict corporal punishment with impunity on the boatmen, as they will either revenge themselves by retaliation, or, if they cannot pluck up audacity enough to proceed to such lengths, they will abandon the boat, abscond, and leave you to make your way to your destination as well as you can. At times, however, they will avoid both these methods of reprisal, with a view to commit you to the first police *thanna* you reach, where you will continue fast, unless you can demean yourself so far as to purchase the good will of the *courteous gentlemen* who preside over those posts with a round sum of money

by way of *boxis*; and then you may go about your business, with the best face you can put upon the *droll* affair\*. It not unfrequently happens, that our travellers do not carry more ready money with them than they suppose will suffice to answer all the expenses of a tedious journey; so that, sometimes, when a circumstance like that above-mentioned takes place, they are constrained to give up the only means of support they have, on a trip through a country where it would be a miracle to encounter a friend of any kind. Some have been obliged to give a watch, a hookka, surpos, or spoons, to avoid a dangerous starvation; and then to prosecute their journey with the best grace they can, in company with, or rather in the power of those who will then have known how to deal with you, in the event of being provoked to punish them for filching from you. For the future, they will do it in a more barefaced manner, and, by sad expe-

\* That circumstances like those here mentioned are, at present, of rare occurrence, is indisputable; but whether it be owing to the increased vigilance of the police, or to the diffusion of knowledge and European manners,—a question lately agitated, but very unsatisfactorily debated,—I cannot say. It is however far from being uncommon, even at this day, that the boatmen often desert their charge on the way, especially if the way of the traveller should include their country, and that, very frequently, without sufficient cause.

rience taught to smother irritation, you end your journey with feelings which are not to be coveted. Again, how many are there who, because a journey on foot is intolerable, prefer joining their stations, or going to meet their friends, or transacting their business, on boats! In the first case, a couple or three months salary is swallowed up by boat expenses, so that when they reach their stations, they must immediately hit upon some means of prevailing upon utter strangers to lend them money for barely preserving their lives\*. The debt is most frequently not liquidated for months to come. In the next case, the heavy charge of boat conveyance is so serious an impediment to

\* The allusion here is to the plan of Government, of making an advance of a couple months' salary to their *uncovenanted servants* to join distant stations, in which they may have obtained appointments. A person obtaining a situation in one of the central provinces, say *Dhaka*, or *Teppira*, of 150 Rs. per month, gets an advance of 300 Rs. with which he must pay the hire of a tolerably comfortable *pullwee*, or *puthalee* (a *budgerow* must be left out of the question), a cooking boat, servant's wages, or *khorahee* in advance, buy provisions for the journey of one month, and perhaps more, &c. All this, it would be easy to conceive, would more than run away with the 300 Rs. But this is not all: he has to support himself and family for two months and more, after his arrival at his station and taking charge of his situation; but how he is to do it, it would be difficult to say, unless he has money of his own, or the civilians of the place (as it has not unfrequently happened) assist him.

occasional interviews with dear relatives and friends, that it often puts a termination to good will among them. In the last case, the drawback upon the profits of a merchant thus obliged to waste his money, often occasions failure. I am not here alluding to opulent tradesmen, but those of the second or third class. These are things which loudly call for an end ; but which must be remediless, unless we attempt to make travelling by land tolerable, (some would like to have it pleasant too,) and safe and cheap, by placing our colonists on the main roads and elsewhere. These remarks are the suggestions of one who has travelled nearly over a moiety of Hindoosthan in every possible shape, but who is constrained to avow, that he would sooner travel on foot, or on a *tattoo*, were such establishments as this essay proposes to intersperse through the country available, than by dawk, on elephants, or in boats. He once had to walk the distance of 200 miles, along a road the most beautiful and grand in point of scenery, but the most wretched in point of accommodations, having sometimes been obliged to be satisfied with tamarind for sauce, and brackish water for drink. He

was once or twice also necessitated to put up at one of the *suraees* above mentioned, in company with a parcel of miserable people, infected with an epidemic which at that time raged in the place, and from which they were flying for safety elsewhere! All this would have been avoided, if he could have met with East Indians' farms on the way.

By the establishment of farms, as suggested above, many of our East Indians who are brought up to trades, but who are masters of very small capitals, would be induced to undertake long journies in the interior, as travelling petty dealers of tea, spices, Europe stationary, such tools as are not yet manufactured in this country, medicines and cordials, warm clothes, trinkets, wines, &c. &c. for all which they would find a ready vend at the several stations, and also among the people at large. The periodical visits of travelling tradesmen would be as acceptable to the East Indian farmers, as the arrivals of the Indiamen are at present to the shopkeepers of Calcutta, especially as these very merchants would readily take off their hands such articles as they shall have manufactured for city and town mar-



**kets.** Thus a perpetual intercourse of a most interesting nature, embracing mutual and general advantages, would be established throughout the country. An individual possessing a small sum of money, perhaps not more than two or three hundred rupees, would be a total loser, if he were to attempt a travelling traffic by means of boat conveyance. Would it be unreasonable to suppose, that hundreds of such persons would in process of time be provided for by their meeting with facilities to proceed to the interior for the purpose mentioned? They could carry their few goods in two or more *petaras*, or light boxes, made for the purpose, on one or more bullocks or ponies\*.

It may also be observed, that ere long medical assistance will be required in the interior, where, at present, professional men are to be met with only in the civil and military stations. With all the good will and humanity which they generally possess, the small number of these at each station, renders their aid available to but a few of the inhabitants. Much good may be done, and is done by some of them, to the aborigines

\* This feature of colonization will necessarily add to the revenues of the state, by the duties levied on the goods carried into the interior, and brought from thence into the cities and towns.

that surround them, to a greater or less extent ; but still, it may easily be conceived that all that they can do, must be comparatively little. They may attend to the cases of many, yet they must necessarily neglect the cases of many more. They are Europeans, and the impossibility of enduring much fatigue, in a climate so unsuited to their constitution, must be taken into consideration. The dignity of their character too, which has been better calculated to direct “ Asiatic labour, than any constant personal labour at the plough or the anvil,” or, we may add, at the sick mattress of a poor native, must not be omitted. They are the servants of Government, and their power and means of enlarging their sphere of usefulness must in a good measure depend on the facilities afforded to them for such a purpose. These, and other equally obvious considerations, would induce many of the East Indians to apply themselves to the study and practice of medicine, which they might be able to do, either at the Serampore College, supposing that it forms a branch of the instructions communicated there, or at the different dispensaries of Calcutta, the superintendents of which are at present in the

habits of taking one or two apprentices from time to time. In these dispensaries, I am aware they would not acquire a knowledge of anatomy, yet what they would learn would not be useless knowledge; and may I not express a hope, that our munificent Government, if applied to, would suffer them to acquire this part of professional knowledge at their different hospitals? Government need not support these apprentices; the Committee of Management of the East Indian colonization could do it at a small expense; or the *Calcutta Apprenticing Society* might be solicited to apprentice them out to Government; but it would not be too much to presume, that the co-operation of Government itself in these respects would not be withheld, considering the advantages held out by the establishment of a system like the one delineated in these pages. The formation of East Indian villages would afford ample means of sustenance to their brethren of the faculty, whilst kindred feelings would render their services, when experience and time shall have matured their knowledge of the science in question, doubly pleasing and acceptable. These doctors, or whatever they be called, would not,

of course, confine the benefits of their knowledge in this particular to their countrymen alone; but like benevolent parents, whilst they cannot neglect the wants of their family, they will make all comfortable around them; and thus Indo-British humanity and generosity will be resounded for and wide, next to that of those from whom they are descended. The aborigines would, therefore, share in their valuable services, and, induced by such acts of kindness, would endeavour not to forfeit their profitable friendship by attempts at hostility.

But I open the field wider yet, by remarking, that the increase of East Indian population would probably, and perhaps reasonably, render the revision of the existing regulations of Government necessary, and call for fresh enactments. The present provisions confine the very respectable office of *moonsif*, or commissioner, to Hindoos and Moosulmans, for the obvious reason, that the litigating parties are, at present, of one or other of these two persuasions. But the establishment of East Indian farms, and the consequent possession of land by them, will require, and it would be but equity to grant, that the

East Indians be placed on a footing similar to that on which the others stand, which would make way for the appointment of Christian commissioners. This may be done without expense to Government, as, indeed, is the case with the native *moonsifs*, who receive no salary from the state, but are compensated with the price of stamps disposed of at their respective courts. Christian commissioners could be provided for in the same manner. The additional sale of stamps which would be occasioned by the formation of the establishments here recommended, would add to the revenues of Government.

As a political question, colonization will equally well bear examination. It will not be difficult for the reader to fancy himself surrounded by a dense population, kept under subjection, as, if we consider the subject attentively, we shall admit, by comparatively slender power ; or in other words, the British possessions in India rest upon very uncertain and problematical grounds. At present, there is nothing but the awe of a standing army, to suppress any future internal commotion. Should such a circumstance take place, the army (if then to

be depended upon) will be required on the frontiers, whence the invasion of our most formidable enemies is justly dreaded; but the removal of them thither, would be attended with circumstances not less fearful than those which they would thereby be intended to guard against. The native powers, by whom we are almost on all sides surrounded, having the only indispensable check upon their movements taken away, would, it is not improbable, come forward to the aid of the malecontents in the heart of the country. Local corps would then be dangerous to maintain, much more to augment their numbers by volunteers from the disaffected multitude. Lord Bacon has said, that knowledge is power; and Johnson has added, that, “we have always regarded *letters* as great obstructions to our scheme of subordination.” If these sentiments be correct, the present attempts to enlighten the minds of the natives, must be looked upon as sowing the dangerous seeds of sedition, unless other circumstances grow up with them simultaneously to counterbalance their effects. These are plainly two, the communication of the gospel to the natives, and the facilitation of East Indian colonization. To say that

knowledge unfettered by the salutary chains of kindred feelings, or untempered by Christian sympathy, love and forbearance, would not be a suspicious weapon in the hands of those who do not require to be told that their country has been taken away fairly from them, would be to say, that when a people come to comprehend the unreasonableness of subjection to a foreign yoke, however mild it may be, and are conscious of their superior power, (I am here supposing them to have advanced in civilization, and especially to have increased in number considerably, and acquired a familiarity with European tactics,) they will still prefer it to the possession of those powers which they once enjoyed. It may not be an improbable conjecture, that the strong degree of attachment which the natives at present display for their protectors, is not the fruit of any effort of their judgment; but the experience of the wide difference of treatment from the Government under which they were last, and from that under which they are now. Human nature, however, is capricious. Where no other motive but that of the lenity of treatment which we enjoy exists, we soon show how little it

is to be depended on. Freedom, of which few men take the trouble to acquire a definite and rational idea, floats so loosely in our imagination, and dances before our eyes in so many different phrensy-working forms, that we are not unfrequently apt to make a wanton display of power against all motives of gratitude, except where religion has buried all recollections of the loss of primeval greatness and liberty, in her broader and more influential principles of action. But it is said, all knowledge is not power,—that literary and religious knowledge is not power; but the correctness of this may be denied. All knowledge, in its nature, is expansive; it opens the mind to take in more extended and accurate views of things, and enables it to argue from causes to effects, from things to their consequences. The thirst for knowledge, when it once seizes the mind, is not to be easily checked. He that can read a tale, will in time be able to read history; and he that can read one history, can read all histories; and what must be the consequence, when the mind has thus far gone, is not difficult to foretell: But I forbear to go more deeply into the subject. I hope the remarks I have



freely made, will not be construed into hostility against communicating knowledge to the native subjects of the British Government in India. I am no advocate for an illiberal system of government, or of despotism ; on the contrary, I maintain, that it is no good reason, that because the possession of knowledge by the natives may prove detrimental to the continued prosperity of British power in India, it should be withheld from them. Give them, therefore, knowledge, useful knowledge ; but with it give them religious knowledge, and if any thing can authorize us to defy the wish of wresting the country from the hands of the English, it is this, unless the will of Providence be otherwise. Between religious knowledge and other knowledge, there is this difference, that while there is little or nothing to temper the passions and views of men, but every thing to inflame them on various accounts and occasions in the latter, there is a kind of compound property in the former, which, whilst it enlarges the mind, calms the passions at the same time. Great Britain was never, perhaps, blessed with such dutiful subjects as her present ones ; and to what is it owing ? Doubtless to

the considerable degree of real piety which exists in her. That religion which teaches obedience and subjection to rulers, when properly understood, cordially received, and faithfully adhered to, cannot be dangerous for any kingdom;—that religion which professes to teach the dispositions of the citizens of the kingdom of heaven itself, cannot be unfriendly to the wellbeing of the kingdoms of the earth.

The other effectual means to counteract any future convulsion, is the facilitation of colonization. It may be doubted, as it has been, whether it would be safe to permit European colonization here. The recent conduct of the British colonists who now form the United States of North America, may seem to afford some countenance to the suspicion; but it is to be feared, that those who indulge such doubt, do not carry their examination of the subject beyond the pale of the single instance of misfortune (if it may be so called) just mentioned. The situation of the Anglo-American colonists at the time referred to, was very different from what can possibly be the case in India, should it ever be colonized by Europeans. What was there in the case of the

Americans to prevent their taking the step they have taken? Nothing that I can see, unless it be the forbearance of the attempt to tax them without their consent, either of their representatives in parliament, or their own immediately? But in India, the thick population of natives would for centuries prove effectual checks to the British colonists throwing off their allegiance to Britain. In America, the natives were so few and so barbarous, that the British colonists found it the easiest matter to make room for themselves, by driving them into the interior. Should Europeans be permitted to colonize this country, they will be obliged to scatter themselves almost throughout it, a circumstance which must alone disqualify them for copying the example of the British North American colonists. I am of opinion, therefore, that Europeans may be permitted to colonize the country, not only with safety, but with great advantage to the interests of Britain.

But whatever might be said as to the safety and propriety of permitting Europeans to colonize the country, there can be no doubt as to the advantages that would be derived to the British Government in India

by the colonization of it by East Indians.

East Indian towns and villages all over the country would be salutary preventives of the springs of rebellion. If any such thing should ever take place, their all would be at stake, for the preservation of which, they would feel it their best interest to side with the State. Any thing brooding against the Government would be as dangerous to themselves. And what Christian is there who would not take up arms in support of a Christian Government,—a Government that allows perfect liberty of conscience, and protects it too? Is there an East Indian who would not do this? He dislikes to be placed under the galling shackles of a Hindoo or a Turkish government; and self-interest should induce him to be faithful to the Government, under which he enjoys security of property, person, and conscience. He may, therefore, be depended on to assist in preventing any turmoils on the part of the natives. What might take place two or three hundred years hence, in consequence of an overgrown population of East Indians, it would be improper to surmise; for if any such thing should take

place, will it be less possible to prevent it, because they have colonized the country, than if they grew up to a large body, without sufficient employment to divert their attention from foolish and hopeless projects of rescuing the reins of government from the hands of a power, with whom it would be rank folly to think to cope successfully, at any, the longest given period? To prevent their increasing is almost absolutely impossible; oppression would only have an effect the very opposite of that which it was intended to produce. Hence the only alternative left to prevent the increase of East Indians, is to exterminate them altogether from the face of the earth; but whether it would be a more prudent policy to do this, or to suffer their growth, and by extending their privileges, and permitting them to acquire a stronger attachment to, and permanent interest in the soil, let those who are concerned in the question, decide: but we repeat, that it is improper to surmise that the East Indians will at any future period, near or distant, turn traitors to their king and country, even though they should propagate themselves into an irresistible multitude. Is not the country wide enough for

a couple hundred millions of additional inhabitants? Let us cast our eyes on the vast tract of country lying between Bengal and Behar, and even to Nagpoor, covered with impenetrable forests,—how easily might room be made for them there! The eastern territories no less afford ample space for some millions to the south and north. With so much room at command, it would be uncharitable to entertain the opinion, that the liege subjects of his Majesty would notwithstanding revolt. It should not be forgotten, however, that so long as the aborigines continue to exhibit a progressive propensity to become enlightened, they will always prove checks sufficient to crush the buds of the political ambition of the East Indians. A mutual restraint is necessary, and such a restraint East Indian colonization abundantly promises. So that, instead of three or four hundred years of brilliant reign, our Government may hope to subsist for ever.—  
**GOD SAVE THE KING !**

A Christian will be allowed to say a few words respecting an opinion he entertains of the propagation of the faith, which, he trusts, is dearer to him than existence itself, by the aid of colonization. It is his opi-

nion, that colonization by means of East Indians, would be a valuable auxiliary to the spread of the gospel. In proportion as the East Indians increase in number, and distribute themselves into separate bodies in different parts of the country, as farmers, &c. which they must in process of time do for want of room, it is fondly to be hoped, that they will feel the need of spiritual teachers. Ministers will be necessarily called for, and will be readily supplied by the Serampoor or the Bishop's College, or by the several Societies in operation. If these ministers be evangelical and zealous, so far from burying their talents within the circumference of their respective *parishes*, e. i. East Indian farms, they will endeavour to extend their sphere of usefulness by introducing the gospel among the surrounding heathen. Such a measure would afford an abundant prospect of success; and what more than *prospects* do we need entertain, under the assurance, that *the increase* is the exclusive prerogative of our adorable Saviour, whose power is irresistible, and whose grace is inexhaustible? What a small field is at present occupied by the missionaries of the gospel, compared with the

incalculable miles of country, the untold numbers of idolaters, that present themselves to our view! The resources of the societies engaged in the work of missions, are not equal to universal effort. Supposing, then, each village to have one minister, who should, if possible, support himself in the same way as those to whom he would preach statedly, there would be as many preachers as villages. What extensive scope would be afforded to missionary zeal! But supposing that the colonists did not immediately call for ministers, if they would only give them a welcome whenever they itinerated towards the way of their farms, as missionary sojourners, for short seasons, there is scarce a doubt but that many of them would repeatedly visit their establishments. It would contribute not a little to cheer the colonists, thus to fall in with good Christians now and then. If churches be organized among them, the ordinances of religion also would in time be administered to them; and thus, with industry prospering their temporal matters, and the travelling missionaries establishing them in the more important concerns of a future world, surely nothing



more could be left for mortal probationers to desire!

As to the advantages the East Indians would command over the aborigines, I shall in the first place mention the pitiful condition of the Hindoos, who, through dread of the destruction of their caste, which would be the utter downfall of their respectability in the eyes of their countrymen, and would at once estrange them from the endearments and kind offices of their dearest relatives, dare not so much as apply a razor to their chins, or drive a needle through a piece of cloth! The East Indians are not thus circumscribed, and in a general point of view, would be able to compete with the natives in the acquisition of the comforts of life. But to particularize. The Hindoo dares not feed his own poultry, in consequence of which he is driven to the necessity of living upon fish and vegetables; but even in these, he finds he cannot have his choice. A Hindoo must not eat turtle, crabs, salt fish of any kind, &c. Considering the vast demand there is of poultry, could the poor creatures be permitted merely to rear live stock for sale, what a great acquisition would it not prove to the poor

Hindoo farmer! This, then, is one important branch of domestic comfort effectually wiped off from his books, and the space will be left blank as long as Brahminic superstition preponderates. It is not easy to conceive how men can submit to be thus fooled. To the East Indians, who do not only not scruple to touch and feed poultry, but also take very good care to make hearty meals on their flesh, this would be a complete advantage. How many of the comforts of life would they not secure to themselves by feeding their own poultry! The eggs would both afford them nutritive food, and the means of increasing their stock. In what a variety of ways are eggs served up at our tables! It would be almost a task to enumerate them; yet not one of them is known to the Hindoos. A common omelet has frequently sufficed to furnish an acceptable meal to less scrupulous people. It is true, that many Hindoos are seen devouring a huge heap of rice, with nothing else to make it palatable but a piece of tamarind, cooked or burned in the hearth. The advantage is evidently in favour of the former, on the score of cleanliness and delicacy. Besides which, such articles of

food as tamarind, acid-balls, &c. are not usually to be had without being paid for; unless begging were resorted to ; but where is the necessity of either, when by feeding a few fowls, fresh eggs will be at hand at any time ? Successive and regular propagation of poultry would supply our East Indians with the most wholesome animal food ; and if they could contrive to raise more than would suffice for their own use, the remainder could advantageously be disposed of for ready money. Observe here, that in the mere feeding and using of poultry, the advantages the East Indians would gain over the Hindoos are four or five fold, viz. they would have eggs and flesh for food, eggs for propagation, the sale of superfluous stock, and the value of the stock itself.

Over their Moosulman competitors the East Indians would command many advantages, by feeding pigs, and having a pigsty. These the Moosulmans must never hope to be able to do, without the destruction of their caste, and exposure to those misfortunes which the Hindoos would be thrown into by turning poulterers. In this article of the comforts of European life, the

East Indians would have the following advantages over the Moosulmans, and of course over the majority of Hindoos likewise. 1. Pigs breed faster than any other domesticated quadruped, to a proverb ; so that it would secure to the East Indians a speedy accumulation of valuable stock, and a progressive emolument in consequence of it. 2. A hog or pig slaughtered now and then, would afford substantial food for days together to a numerous family. 3. A hog previously fattened for the purpose, could be killed to make hams and sausages of all kinds, which, after keeping enough for home consumption, could be disposed of for cash. 4. The lard also would be an article of gain, and at the same time answer all the purposes to which ghee (clarified butter) is applied by the Hindoos and Moosulmans. 5. The milk of cows, of which ghee is made, thus saved, could very profitably be applied to the manufacture of cheese, which the ingenuity of our East Indians would enable them to make a little more durable and delectable than those that go by the name of Bandel and Dhaka cheese, and which they could of course turn to better account. 6. Superfluous stock could be

disposed of. And 7. The value of the stock in hand would always be considerable. These two articles would give the East Indians a twelvefold advantage over the Hindoos, and sevenfold over the Moosulmans ! If the East Indians chose a suitable site for their habitations, the feeding of poultry and swine would be attended with no expense whatsoever.

In the next place, by having their own fleecy flock to a certain extent, (or to an indefinite extent, if desired,) the East Indians would secure some farther advantages over the Hindoos, to whom, (in the lower provinces,) I fancy, a sheep is as great an abomination as a hog is to a Moosulman. It would procure a variety of food, whether it be in the shape of a lamb or mutton. Their wool could either be sold unwrought, or spun yarn or worsted. But it could be manufactured into blankets, if the East Indians could but take the pains to learn how to do it. The skins would always fetch money, so long as shoes remained in fashion. If they could contrive to make their own shoes, (and nothing in the trades is so easy,) what an advantage would it not afford them ! At any rate, the skins could be sold for

ready money, or ready made shoes could be procured by bartering skins for them. Nor needs the fat of sheep to be thrown away, as it could be appropriated to several useful purposes. We have frequently seen butchers feeding their lamps with the fat of mutton, instead of oil. If mixed up with a proper quantity of hog's lard, it would be very serviceable in preserving Bologna sausages, &c. ; besides which, if the East Indians made their own wooden household furniture, an excellent polish might be made of the fat of mutton mixed up with sundry other ingredients. Moreover, a superabundance of stock needs not to be kept up, so that a portion might be got rid of in the market, or to travelling dealers in live stock. And in the same manner with the other articles, the stock in hand would be worth money. Let the reader add these advantages to those noticed in the two foregoing articles, and say on which side the advantages lie.

Another wholesome article to which society is accustomed, is fish, which most of the Hindoos who are not downright fishermen are under the necessity of buying. This being the only animal food allowed

them, next to rice constitutes their principal dish. The East Indians could supply themselves with it, by casting their net or drawing their seine in the tank, lake, or river, on the bank or in the neighbourhood of which they might erect their habitations. It is not necessary that they should turn regular fishermen; nevertheless, by handling their own nets, they would avoid the necessity of depending upon the natives for supplying them with fish. It is the easiest thing in the world to make nets. I recollect, that at a certain time, I and three others took in hand and finished a large net, of several feet in length and breadth, in the course of 15 hours, for the purpose of catching flying foxes. We commenced in the morning, and caught our game at night the same day. The Hindoos, with the exception of the Muchhaloa caste, must not venture to dry their fish; so that if one of them should by angling take up a large fish, he must either throw away the best part of it, distribute it among his neighbours, (by which he makes a virtue of necessity,) or eat the whole before morning, and the next morning die of a surfeit. I have witnessed several instances of their falling seriously ill

by gormandizing on fishes which have by some fortunate accident been thrown in their way. It is not commonly known how many of them die by eating immoderately of the sable-fish. Had they the option of either drying a part of it, or making what is called "tamarind fish," there would be a variety of food at their command, as well a saving of money, leaving the circumstance of dying by eating fish out of the question. But since the East Indians are at liberty to make what use they please of fish, they would gain farther decided advantages over their qualmish competitors of the Hindoo caste.

I have *en passant* mentioned the consequences the Hindoos, and I will add, the Moosulmans are subject to, from their adherence to a system of harassing superstition and idolatry, by which the Brahmins have acquired an unlimited and irresistible dominion over them. I will endeavour to throw further light on the subject, with a view to illustrate the advantages the East Indians could command, in carrying on a competition with the aborigines.

If either of the abovementioned classes of people have to celebrate a marriage, they must indispensably invite all their neigh-



hours to partake of a feast. If they fail to do it, they are forthwith ejected from every circle, are thenceforward regarded as infamous, and become a byeword in the place of their abode ; and to such an extent is ill-will carried towards them, that the poor outcasts cannot prevail upon their neighbours to come and bury their dead for them. In short, they must undergo the expense of feasting them, or be a solitary thing in “the world’s wide common.” In order to escape all this, the Moosulmans are obliged to give a dinner as often as they have a child to circumcise, on every marriage that takes place in their house, and twice at least, if a death occurs, after four, and again after forty days. The expenditure of money falls heaviest on the poor Hindoos, who in addition to regaling their neighbours on every ceremonial occasion, have to make munificent presents to their Gooroos and other Brahmins. In addition to these, all their religious observances or poojahs make a continual breach in their hard-earned cash. To enable them to defray such absurd expenses, they are obliged to borrow money at an exorbitant rate of interest, (not at any time less than two pice per rupee monthly,) which they frequently have it not

in their power to liquidate during the rest of their lives. Hence we often hear them complain, that they are obliged to pay eight or twelve annas per month out of their income to their ready-money Muhajuns, by way of interest. To these galling fetters, thanks to Christianity, the East Indians will never consent to submit: hence an incalculable advantage is past dispute within their reach. Simply from not having the best portion of their gains swallowed up by vain ceremonies and unnecessary feastings, the advantages will be found to be effectually on the side of the East Indian colonists; who will, in process of time, be by far the most successful cultivators of the soil, and in a condition to vie with the most respectable landholders among their silly, priest-ridden competitors.

Again, excepting the weaver caste, who are generally confined to their looms, (though some of them cultivate lands,) the Hindoos would be excluded from society, if they got up their own wearing apparel. The Moosulmans are not a whit better off. If the female members of an East Indian's family were to undertake the weaving of cloth for the use of their families, another great ad-

vantage would be gained by them over his circumscribed competitors. And why may they not do it? Why should not the females of the *East Indian* colonist's family be capable of engaging in an occupation which is not less honorable than the art of weaving? They would not surely like it to be said of them, that the wives of the native farmers were more useful than they. In Ireland and Scotland, in general, the fair sex have this indispensable work to perform ; and were it not for their laudable industry in this branch of the comforts of civilized life, *we* should probably never have come to the sight of the Irish linen, or plaid of the prettiest hues and finest textures, that are annually imported into this country. It is one of the easiest arts, and a child of eight or ten years of age is equal to undertake it ; it seems therefore well adapted to the delicate system of females. Excepting the stretching out the warp in the first instance, the whole of the details of weaving is performed within doors. How truly gratifying to the feelings of an industrious female would it be, to behold her dear family decently clothed by the labour of her *own* hands! What a genuine cause for her husband to set a due value on the pos-

session of such a treasure ! And would not this naturally win his heart to be more attached to her ? Her children, or others connected with her, would doubtless venerate her interesting character, and imperceptibly learn to imitate her virtues. In life she would be a blessing to all around her, and death would not be able to blot out the grateful remembrance of self-denial and industry from the minds of the survivors. Who would not admire such a person ? Beauty leaves not a vestige of its existence, after the departure of the possessor of it : but industry leaves trophies behind. There are some amongst the East Indian females who take no small pains to excel in the art of making carpets. Now were they to take half the pains thus bestowed upon a piece of work which is not by half so useful as weaving cloth for home use, they would soon find the blessings that go along with choosing serviceable, rather than ornamental work. An industrious disposition in a wife is the most powerful encouragement to promote a corresponding temper in the husband ; but an indolent one will clothe her husband with rags, to the great discomfort of her own life. A man may love an indolent wife, but he cannot admire her. He

should not be credited if he said so, as it is certain he does not speak what he thinks and feels. But the character of an industrious female of the weaving class, above all other secular artists, is of such an interesting nature, that the pages of inspiration have not failed to make the most respectable mention of it. “ Other daughters have done well, but thou excellest them all ! ”

Another advantage in favour of the East Indian colonists would be their undertaking the cultivation of all sorts of grain and vegetables. This the aborigines are not permitted to do. There are certain articles which every Hindoo or Moosulman farmer must not attempt to cultivate, either from the fear of expulsion from society, or because they have not obtained in his family from the time of his ancestors ; as the betel, for instance, which is confined altogether to the Pantee caste. It is true, the aborigines are not prohibited from cultivating mustard seed, sesamum, castor, &c. but the advantage to the East Indians would lie in the manufacturing of them into oil, which the former dare not do, unless they be of the Koloo caste, and even a Koloo is never a cultivator of the materials he uses to promote his trade. The me-

thod of making oil is remarkably simple. The mill; which is made of wood at a very small expense, is turned by only one ox. The presence of the miller is not indispensable at the mill; he may come to it now and then for the purpose of putting a fresh quantity of seed into the funnel. The mustard seed would yield him oil for culinary purposes, and the sediment (called *Khullee* by the natives) would afford a necessary article of food for his cattle. The sesamum likewise yields oil, which is applied to various uses by the natives, to whom therefore it could be sold for ready money. These two articles do not require the appropriation of exclusive spots of ground. The early rice, or *ousdhan*, being reaped in September, makes room for various articles, amongst which are mustard and sesamum. The castor is frequently sown on the banks of tanks, and in spots where nothing else could be profitably cultivated, though more pains are taken with it in the upper provinces. A similar practice could be resorted to by the East Indians. He could manufacture it into what is called "cold-drawn castor oil," and sell it as a medicine, or make it in the common way, by frying the seed before it is put

into the mill, which would make it a very good substitute for mustard oil to feed his lamps with. The mustard oil thus saved could be sold to the aborigines to great advantage. It is true, that such an extent of land could not be spared for these articles of cultivation as to enable the East Indian colonists to keep their mills constantly going from the produce of them. But rather than let them stand still, they could purchase the seed from the natives, and manufacture oil, which would both pay the expense of buying it, leave the Khullee for the use of the cattle, and yield some profit by the sale of the oil. In like manner, cocoanut could be procured, which of itself would keep several hands pretty well employed. The oil would be extracted ; the shell would be cleaned for making “ hobbles” for the use of the natives ; and the coir could be manufactured into rope or cables. Moreover, the remains of the mill afford a very fattening article of food for swine.

It would be indispensable for the East Indians to cultivate their own cotton like the aborigines. The mere cultivation of it puts them on an equal footing with the latter ;

but there are other circumstances connected with it, which would give the decided advantage to the colonists. They should not sell the cotton, but get the thread spun out of it at home. I do not conceive that the whole of the cotton produced in the fields of the colonists could be spun within doors. The surplus could be given to the native spinners in the neighbourhood, who would give thread in exchange, according to the respective valuation of each. The advantage lies in this, that whereas the native weavers are invariably obliged to buy their thread in the markets for ready money, the East Indian colonist would have it for barter ; and as the cotton would be the price of the stipulated quantum of thread *advanced*, the thread would bear a less value than it does at the market. It is well worthy of remark, that a single female spinner of thread in a native farmer's family, spins sufficient, and more than sufficient for clothing the whole family, besides procuring various domestic articles by the sale of superfluous quantities. So far as this, I trust, the East Indian female might be allowed to be capable of doing : but in order to surpass the natives, they should have nothing more to do than weave



their own cloth. If thread could, however, be obtained from their neighbours in exchange for cotton, it would be more advisable to supersede the spinning department by engaging exclusively in the weaving one.

We must not forget to notice some other things, which at first sight might appear unimportant, but which would not prove to be such to our colonists ; for by overlooking or neglecting to attend to them, because they appeared trifling, they would constantly be subject to annoyance from their native neighbours, on whom they would thereby be obliged to depend. In the first place, though the purchase of ploughs, and all the component parts of its furniture, might be effected by small sums of money, and the work of carpenter and smith obtained for a few annas, yet much time is lost by dancing attendance on those artists for the construction of a single plough or plough-share ; and after all, a day or two is to be spent probably at their shops, to get them made *soon*. Now, as to the wooden part of the work, if the colonists could acquire the commonest use of the adze, they would not only make their own ploughs and rakes, but could cause the

native farmers to depend upon them. Many other little things could be mentioned, which could be done at leisure, both to the saving of small sums of money, and the riddance of obligation to the aboriginal artists.

In addition to all these, *they* have the advantage of having excellent publications on improved methods of cultivation, the rearing of cattle, &c. respecting which the natives must yet for a long while remain in the dark. They are in this one respect, at least a century behind the East Indians. A gradual introduction of improvements would no doubt cause the scales to *bend* very much in favour of our colonists. These improvements would as a necessary consequence be borrowed by the aborigines, who would perceive the superiority of science over old jog-trot custom, and readily adopt the methods practised among them. Before, however, such a disposition is produced in the minds of the natives, the East Indians will have established themselves properly in their business ; and if not arrived at a condition to preclude the possibility of all manner of competition with them, they will have been placed on a footing in which they need not fear any thing from the natives.

The East Indians ought not any longer to suffer themselves to be deceived by the false appearances of things—they ought to be well assured, that the road to their prosperity lies in the cultivation of the soil—they ought to see the imprudence of centring their hopes in one point—they ought to give up their false notions—they ought to despise the foolish insinuations of pride—they ought to consider what indignities they suffer—what miseries await neglect—what motives address them—what fields invite them.

Arise, then, my countrymen—“ up and be doing.” Let not another moment be lost—apply with prudence, with resolution, with ardour, and apply yourself immediately to the work of colonization—for *there* your honour, your wealth, your happiness lie.

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## APPENDIX.



### *Remarks on the present Mode of Agriculture among the Aborigines.*

INDIA, excepting that tract of country which extends from the Jungul Mihal to the sea south, and as far as Sreehut (or Sylhet) east, exhibits the most diversified prospects. Beyond the extent of country mentioned, there are all the varieties of scenery and soil which form the characteristics of a beautiful and interesting country. The lower parts of Bengal, however, present a sameness of scenery almost throughout : its soil is notwithstanding so very fertile, that a very small portion of trouble and expense would render a person's residence, in certain parts of it, charming. The banks of the Ganges, or those of any other of the rivers with which it abounds, afford very picturesque sites for a person's habitation. The western parts, owing to the paucity of hands devoted to agriculture, are overgrown with brushwood ; while the eastern parts, with some exceptions, are overrun with reeds and high grass, and, during three or four months in the year, are under water. The Jynteea mountains, as well as those which are situate further south, pour down a vast body of water into the low countries, and deluge them to a very great extent. In consequence of this, the villages in those parts are built upon high spots of ground raised for the purpose ; and hence there, as well as in the district of Latoor, communication is cut off, as it respects travelling on foot. The people go in boats from one place to another, which have the appearance of islands in the midst of an ocean. This sort of scenery is peculiar to the eastern parts of Bengal. The western parts, again, rise gradually, and end in lofty mountains, a little beyond Bankoora. India, to the south, has much the same appearance as the neighbourhood of Calcutta, with the only difference, that it is beautified with the towering aspect of the Neelgiree and other hills. The soil, in many places, is extremely luxuriant. I have passed through paddy-fields in which my

palanquin has been almost hid. The soil of this place appears to me richer than any I have yet noticed. Some parts of it are liable to inundation, but such a circumstance is of rare occurrence. As the traveller proceeds further west, he is charmed with a delightful grandeur of scenery, both during his ascent up the table land of Huzareebagh, and in his descent down Sherghatee, where it is especially so. Excepting this portion, and certain other smaller ones, which it does not fall under my present province to describe, India presents an endless forest to view, teeming, as will be readily supposed, with wild beasts of all sorts. As the traveller descends from the Sherghatee heights, and proceeds, the forests gradually lessen, and extensive plains open to view on all sides, which continuously prevail until the approach to a vast range of hills, which I perceived to take its rise from the great river Son (Sone), and pass in its progress at the back of Mirzapoor, beyond which I have not been, and, probably, colonization, by means of East Indians, would not be allowed.

Having visited many places in the Dukkhan, I could enlarge considerably on the chorographical peculiarities of them ; but, as, I think, the East Indians would not be permitted to establish themselves within the dominions of the native princes that govern them, it would be unimportant to do so. I cannot help mentioning, however, that circumstances of the most interesting and encouraging nature are to be met with throughout the Dukkhan ; and if colonization were sanctioned, it would, I have no doubt, prosper. There is probably not another portion of Hindoosthan which betrays such signs of the absence of agricultural hands as this. Whole towns and villages have been abandoned, in consequence of which, the circumjacent country is necessarily reduced to desolation. This cannot be owing to the soil ; for it appeared to me to possess not only variety, but luxuriance, to the full extent of a person's wishes. I have also visited some parts of Ourissa, which, excepting the sea coast, in general, or rather, all that part which lies between the sea coast and the hills, corresponds in its chorography with Midnapore. Much useful information respecting this interesting portion of Hindoosthan has been offered to the public by Mr. Sterling, in his excellent work\*. It is well worthy of perusal. There are one or two particulars on which I entertain

\* A Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Sketch of Oorisa Proper.

a different opinion, especially respecting the soil of certain parts of it where I have been, and took down notes of a variety of local and other circumstances. In short, all that tract which comprises, or did once comprise, the territories of the rajas of Khoor-da, has been very scandalously neglected ; and what might with proper management be made to yield a full remuneration of the labours of the cultivator, now scarcely produces sufficient to cover the expense of cultivation. There are, however, creditable exceptions. Ourissa contains every thing almost of which any society can stand in need. Some parts of its scenery are truly sublime. Colonization would probably succeed as well here, if not better, than in any other part of Hindoosthan comprised within the British territories, taken either in a commercial or agricultural point of view.

No country in the world has so many large rivers, and which are so admirably calculated to convey to the sea the mighty torrents that roll down the numerous chains of mountains which line its northern and western boundaries, as Hindoosthan, which otherwise would be uninhabitable. The eastern parts are very low, and though there are immense rivers which run through them, yet they are subject to annual inundations, which raise the water, in some places, twenty feet above the earth. On the contrary, the western parts, though they are watered by the Damoodur, Sone, Ganges, Jumna, and a multitude of other rivers of a lesser magnitude, are very frequently parched for want of sufficiency of water. The wisdom of Providence appears conspicuously in this arrangement ; since, had there been as much water in the higher parts as is met with in the nether, the consequence would be, that wheat, one of the natural productions of those parts, and in which these inhabitants have been, from their first immigration into them, accustomed to live, would fail, and thus oblige them to abandon them. Rice, which is easier of digestion than wheat,—some may not agree in this opinion,—on the other hand, is properly placed in abundance in a part of the country which is much hotter. Here, therefore, is an abundance of water to assist its growth and fruitfulness. Wheat, which does not require so much moisture as rice, is, therefore, with propriety most attended to in the western parts. In the southern parts, it is very remarkable that there is not even an equal proportion

of rice and wheat cultivated. The latter would certainly seem to be more congenial to them, from the scarcity of water in it ; but why the preference is given to the former, I do not feel myself competent to hazard an opinion.

There is not a river in the Dukkhun which can be compared to the Ganges. Most of the rivers have scarcely any water during the hot season. This local incapacity (if I may be allowed the use of the expression) of the Dukkhun, as well as of the western parts of Hindoosthan, is, however, partly remedied by large sheets of water, which may be called lakes, which collect in different places, and by the deep pits or wells which are dug for the purpose of supplying the requisite irrigation. The multitude of small rivers, in Bengal, which never dry up, save all that trouble to its inhabitants which those of the other parts already mentioned have. In many places of it, however, much injury is done to the crops for want of water. If proprietors of extensive estates were to cause large tanks or canals to be dug at proper distances all over such parts as are subject to drought, the evils sustained from it would be avoided. It is true, that many of them are in the habits of getting tanks dug ; but they are usually intended to supply the need of pilgrims : hence they are mostly found by the sides of high-roads. A multiplicity of tanks would have the advantage of concentrating the water in the event of inundations, and thereby in a great measure of preventing the interruptions to which, from this cause, the cultivators are usually subject, and also afford a ready supply when drought may prevail. Lacks and lacks of rupees have been expended in making banks on the sides of rivers, in order to prevent inundation. Had these vast sums been appropriated to the digging of large tanks or canals, it would certainly have been attended with better results. What, on this plan, would be lost in ground, which these tanks would occupy, would be more than covered by rescuing large crops from total failure, owing to the present inundations on the one hand, and droughts on the other. These reservoirs might be so situated as to have communications with the small rivers, in order to provide against the insalubrious effects of stagnant waters. There are extensive Jheels, or Julas, all over the country, which occupy more land than they ought to be suffered to do. The middle part of them should be dug deeper,

which would prevent swamps, and much land would be recovered by their respective owners by this means.

Lamentably deficient as the state of things is, and considering also the inadequate pains they take to improve their lands, the people contrive to manage their cultivations well enough. In the western provinces, and in the Dukkhum, generally, the farmers sink deep pits or wells, some of which are fifty or sixty feet deep, from which they draw up water, either in iron vessels or leathern bags, for the purpose of irrigation. I have not seen the former used in the western provinces. Two oxen or bullocks are indispensable at each of these wells, according to the native method, when they wish to take up water. The leathern bags, or the pukhalees (the name of the iron vessels), are lowered down into the wells by means of a rope, which passes over a small wheel, supported either on two posts or earthen pillars, which is turned by the oxen, and draws up the vessel again : by this means one pair of cattle are able to irrigate about three beeghas of land a day. This, however, is the highest rate of the powers of the native cattle, owing to the little care taken of them, and the little food they get to eat. Our East Indians, if they could not pitch upon more favourable sites, could outdo the natives in the irrigation of their lands by the use of tread-wheels, to be turned by tattoos thrown into them, or by weights on the principles of clock-work. The application of the latter to a variety of other uses would save no little expense and labour ; and as they are simple in their construction, they could be done for a trifle, and expeditiously. I would recommend that every two beeghas of land be furnished with a deep well. In some places, it would be necessary to have one for each beegha ; and even should the ground be ever so low, they should still have wells, unless large tanks could be dug at certain distances, in which case, the water should be carefully preserved, and not suffered, as is commonly the case, to run out through wide openings left at two ends, where there are ghats for the accommodation of travellers. These tanks, cleared out every third year, would have their depths, and the purity of their water preserved ; and the corrupt or putrid earth accumulated during that time, being thrown into the field in proper quantities, would enrich the soil for two or three years. Such a sort of manure is far superior to the dung of animals, or of any thing



else that I am acquainted with. These tanks should be kept clear of weeds, and well stocked with fish, which, while they would afford the colonists very excellent food, would by their movements prevent the water from stagnating. Each tank thus taken care of would supply a plentiful irrigation to 100 beeghas of land, provided it be made of a suitable size.

I have already hinted, that the country, and, indeed, almost every district, affords a variety of soils. It comprises loam, sand, chalk, and different degrees of admixture of each. There are certain, and some of them extensive, spots, which are impregnated with iron ore, and other mineral substances that are inimical to the growth of certain articles. The only way, of course, to turn them to account, would be to allot them to such things as are suited to their nature, that is, such things as may possibly grow upon such ground. Simple as this advice may appear, it never occurs to the poor natives. Each tribe is allowed to cultivate certain things only; and as they can thrive on certain soils only, the lands in which they fail are forthwith abandoned as useless. Hence the many uncultivated tracts of country called *na layug pulcet*, which we behold. If wheat, rice, or sugar-cane will not grow there, the farmers are quite nonplussed, and take no further pains with them. There was a spot of ground at Hooglee which nobody would take up, on account of the soil, which was sandy. I took it up, and with very little trouble made it to yield almost every thing that is cultivated in the country, to the great surprise of my neighbours. In the district of Burdwan, I observed that the natives manured their paddy fields with big clods of hardened clay, which they bring from the beds of shallow ponds, and which, as they laid them under no necessity of digging them up, being naturally cracked into large cakes (so to speak) by the heat of the sun, and being very loose, they had only to take up, and carry them wherever they pleased. In every other place that I am acquainted with, the farmers cast a few baskets of decomposed dung, mixed with ashes, and a variety of such rubbish as they daily sweep into a place hollowed for their reception, close to their habitations. The quantity is, however, very inadequate; for I seldom saw more than twenty baskets full thrown into each beegha of land, and even this had more of rubbish than dung in it. The scantiness of the latter is owing to the large quantities which are

reserved for fuel, which they make into small round cakes, and stick up on the mud walls or tatees which surround their dwellings, or on the ground, for the purpose of drying ; after which, they either take them to the market to sell, or keep them for their own use, to cook their victuals with. Much dung is also lost by their neglecting to collect them soon enough, which is thus suffered to be destroyed by worms and white ants. Hence they are never able to manure a piece of ground afresh for every expected crop. They have scarcely any idea of improving the soil, and if they had, their well known indolence would prevent their doing it. " If the ground will yield by mere ploughing and sowing, well, —if not, we cannot help it," would appear to be the maxim of every native farmer with respect to agriculture.

Their implements of husbandry are of the same fashion as existed a couple of thousand years ago, and uniform all over those parts of the country which I have visited. Their ploughs are so very small and rickety, that one would suppose they could not turn up a dozen yards of earth ; but their cattle, being inured to the drudgery, enable them to do more with them than their feebleness would promise. As they usually commence ploughing when the ground has become hard, all that they can do, at the first ploughing, is to drag the plough along almost over the surface of the earth,—an inconvenience which could easily be avoided, by going to the field a few days before the earth is hardened too much. The present mode of ploughing involves a deal of unnecessary labour, both to men and beasts, and verifies the adage, " Lazy folks take the most pains." If you ask them, " Why have you not commenced ploughing sooner ?" the answer is, " I waited for the rain to soften the ground." " And why," if you rejoin, " did you not do it before it became so hard ?" " Nobody else did it," is the answer. Now if our East Indian colonists would but just do what nobody else does, in addition to what they do, is there a shadow of doubt that they would do better than the aborigines ?

The time thus lost, would almost suffice for an extraordinary crop. But, as I was observing, the plough does not penetrate the earth more than three inches. If they attempted to elevate the shaft a couple inches higher than usual at the first ploughing, the share would become a little more perpendicular, and run two

or three inches deeper into the ground ; but then the plough would go to pieces, or the oxen would fall down. According to the present mode, therefore, a piece of ground is not fit for sowing before it has been run through by inches in depth, at least five or six times, backwards and forwards, and transversely or crossways. It frequently happens, that they are obliged to wait for rain so long, that when it at length comes, such torrents are poured down, that the water is knee deep in the fields ere they have been once ploughed. Now if they wait till the waters are dried up, it would probably be the loss of one season, as successive showers might make things only worse. They are, therefore, obliged to subject their poor cattle and themselves to the inconvenience of ploughing in the water. When the lands have been properly puddled, they transplant the young rice plants there from a bed in which they have been previously reared for this purpose. This process is observed in reference to the *Amun dhan*. As to the *Aoos dhan*, this crop must be lost if there is not rain, as they seldom or never take the trouble to irrigate their lands. I have frequently remarked, that the cattle of the natives are pulled down the third year.

Their ploughs are made of the *balla*, or acacia tree, and costs about eight annas, including the ploughshare, and the rest of the furniture belonging to it. The share is about six inches in length, and two inches in breadth, and as thin almost as a wafer. When much work is to be accomplished, it requires to be taken to the blacksmith once a week. The other parts of the plough are of wood, and, as I have before observed, very slender. The cattle are so much used to this machine, that they creep along very much at their ease, insomuch that a lad of 10 years of age is frequently seen managing them with much convenience. Notwithstanding all this, a pair of good cattle are able to plough at one time from 10 to 12 beeghas of land with ease. They might be made to do more, and with less fatigue, were they not ploughed with at midday\*.

After two or three days, they very properly repeat the ploughing of each spot, during which interval they go to such as are yet unploughed. By this method time is allowed for the last plough-

\* See for further remarks on this point, the body of the Essay, p. 52.

ed spots to evaporate, and the moisture of their clods to be absorbed by the air ; but they return ere the clods are rendered too hard to be reduced to dust. They, however, usually commence so late, that they have not time sufficient to break the clods, either because the rains have made them too soft, or the drought too hard. In either case, it hurts the cattle much. If the ground is moist, it galls their shoulders ; if too hard, it injures their hoofs, and does not fail to make the men smart considerably. Some articles of cultivation, such as tobacco, radish, &c. require much ploughing ; but were they to commence it immediately after the last crop of rice has been reaped, and if an intermediate one could not be gained beside, the turning up of the earth betimes, would have the effect of exhausting the soil of all its evil qualities, and render successive ploughings easy.

The harrows which they use are of a piece with their ploughs. These are nothing more than small bamboo ladders, constructed, like all their other useful implements, in the simplest and rudest manner. They are of various lengths ; a piece of bamboo being split in two, four or five thinner pieces, of the length of a cubit or so each, are infixed into them cross ways, and made fast at the ends by ropes. The ladder thus prepared is united to the yoke by means of another rope of the length of five, six, or seven feet, and dragged by a couple of oxen, while a man stands on it, both with a view of giving weight to, and guiding it. The use of this machine is too well known to need to be mentioned : it is several times, for successive days, carried backwards and forwards over the ploughed ground before the clods are reduced to dust ; nor even then, for very frequently a great many of them are observed lying unbroken all over the field. If the spiky roller were introduced into the country, what a deal of time and labour might be saved ! This boon is probably reserved for the East Indians. The harrows intended for smoothing gardens, and spaces under topes of trees, are smaller, which is frequently the case, as ginger and turmeric are commonly planted in the latter of those descriptions of ground, where they not only thrive best, but the earth about the roots of trees, being in consequence of their being planted there, loosened, tends to accelerate their growth, and

make them fruitful. A new harrow is usually made once every year, at a very trifling expense.

I need not take up the reader's time with descriptions of the other few implements of husbandry in use among the natives, such as the hoe, scythe, &c. as they are to be seen in the possession of every Malee in town. They may be mentioned, should the various articles of cultivation to be treated of require it. I cannot, however, omit inviting the attention of the East Indians, in this place, to the fact of the richness of the soil of India, which, with such imperfect tools and such insufficient labour, enables its inhabitants, where other local circumstances do not prove detrimental, to live comfortably.

The following are some among the articles which occupy, in their cultivation, the principal attention of the agriculturists of this country.

Rice or Paddy, of which there are innumerable species, is the grand staple commodity of Bengal, Ourissa, and the Dukkhum, as wheat is of the western provinces. The cultivation of this article may be divided into three crops, i. e. the *amun*, the *aos*, and the *boro*. The *aos* is uniformly cultivated, in Bengal, the western provinces, Ourissa, and the Dukkhum, first. Its cultivation commences in the months of April and May. I have already noticed the method of ploughing adopted for the rearing of this article. The next thing attended to is the scattering of the seed, after which nothing further is done until the growth of grass, &c. renders weeding necessary. This is effected either by employing day labourers, or by forming a compact amongst themselves, the cultivators, to weed each other's fields jointly by turns. The *aos* crop is reaped in August and September. The straw obtained from this crop is reckoned to be gross, and, notwithstanding it is supposed to be injurious to the cattle which are fed with it, it is nevertheless done; and the sale induced, by purchases for this purpose, goes a great way to pay the ground rent. This crop never falls into the hands of the Muhajun, according to a stipulation previously made: the rest share a different fate\*, and usually suffices to afford the farmers food until the *amun* crop is gathered. Of late, great quantities of *aos* land is appropriated to the cultivation of indigo, which, however it may contribute to enrich the individual and promote

\* See body of the Essay, chap. Practicability of Colonization.

foreign commerce, has had the effect of raising the price of corn to a rate extremely prejudicial to the comforts of the community. This opinion might be established by the fact, that rice is cheapest where the cultivation of indigo has not been attempted. In some places, sesamum, cotton, and some other articles are cultivated in the *aoos* lands ; but this is not the general practice.

After the *aoos*, the *amun* is most frequently sown, which yields the crop that constitutes the stay of the people, and a general failure of which inevitably produces a famine. This was the case, it will be fresh in the memory of many, in the year 1808, or thereabouts, when the rice, in general use among the natives, was sold at 10 seers for the rupee. The best crops are obtained in the lowest lands, shallows or jullas, which retain their moisture longest ;—where, however, this disadvantage is felt, that they cannot be appropriated to the cultivation of any thing else, after the rice has been gathered ; and when, as they are very subject to it, a greater quantity of water than usual collects in them, that it does not dry up in time, it destroys the crop. It has been calculated that only one crop in three years is realized from them. When it does succeed, I have known instances when each beegha of land has yielded upwards of sixteen maunds of rice.

After the lands have been sufficiently ploughed, they are suffered to lie in that state until the rains have left several inches of water in the beds, which have little banks raised on all sides of them to prevent the water from running out. When the earth is become quite soaked, the beds are puddled by another ploughing, and the harrow drawn over them to level them, the water still continuing, as before, a few inches high. Now the paddy plants are removed from the higher beds, where the seed had been sown, to them. They are planted in tufts of two or three, at small distances apart from each other. Some species of the *amun* rice plants, when they are grown to a certain height, are mowed, or cropped, almost down to the roots, with a view to thicken the bushes, and thereby to secure a richer crop. To effect this, the farmers drive their cattle into the field, by whom the requisite operation is soon accomplished, and more ; for they tread down many of the plants so much, that they never revive again. The greatest part, however, answer their expectations. The other species of this rice are not suffered to be thus exposed to the teeth of the

cattle. The *amun* does not require weeding, in such places where the water is suffered to continue on the beds throughout the season. The husbandmen commence reaping in October, and finish in December. After the paddy has been cut, it is left on the beds, if there is no water, for some time ; if there is, it is removed to higher spots, and ere long conveyed to the threshing-floors, where the grain is either beaten out of the straw by being dashed against planks, or trodden out by cattle, which though it is the easiest method, injures the straw more than the other, by rendering them unfit for covering the roofs of houses. They answer for feeding cattle : in a country, however, where there is no lack of pasturage, such a use of the straw is a material loss to the husbandmen ; for, could the separation be effected without hurting the straw, it might be carried to the towns, and sold for good sums of ready money. By calculation, it appears to me, that the straw produce of one beegha of tolerable land, would more than discharge one whole year's rent of it. In fact, there is not any thing in their agriculture which falls under observation, that does not carry with it some proofs of the want of energy and judicious management among the natives.

In some places, before the *amun* arrives at perfection, pease, &c. are sown on the fields, without ploughing, of course, which grow up simultaneously with the paddy, and which, after the latter has been reaped, affords a most useful crop to the husbandman. They are not injured in the least by being trod upon during the time the paddy is cut, and they neither require weeding, nor any other process attendant on the cultivation of other things. They are plucked up when they have reached perfection, and the grain separated by being trod under foot of cattle. The most useful crop, however, next to rice, is mustard, an article of great consumption, which in many places, succeeds the rice, both *aoos* and *amun* ; most commonly the former, and the latter only when the crop is earlier than usual, the earth moist enough to admit of an easy ploughing, and water sufficiently near and abundant to afford plentiful irrigation.

It is worthy of remark, that though the lands in the eastern parts of Bengal are lowest, and subject to regular annual inundations, and though, in general, only one crop of any kind of grain is obtained from them, yet rice is cheaper there by far than else-

where\*. In consequence of there being only one crop, the rent of ground there is also much less than any where else ; and in some of the districts, the Zumeendars charge no rent for a piece of ground which has never been cultivated, until it has been brought into a cultivable state : after which, for the first year, one or two annas is charged per beegha, per annum. A land under the circumstances to which it has now been brought, goes, in different districts, by different names. The second year the rent is doubled ; and the third year, which establishes the future rate, an amount seldom exceeding 8 ans. per beegha is levied. Towards the Jungul Muhals, Midnapoor, some parts of Oorissa, and nearly throughout the Dukkhun, the average amount of juma cannot be said to be more. Towards Poorneea, Deenajpoor, Rungpoor, Latoor, it is much the same. In Burdwan, Hooglee, Choubees Purgunuh, Nuddea, Moorshedabad, and other contiguous districts, the juma per beegha is seldom less than 1 rupee, in general 2 rupees, and very frequently 3 and 4 rupees per annum. Of course, the East Indian colonists should avoid these places.

With the process of cultivation and its circumstantial, connected with the *boro*, which is the last crop of rice, I am not thoroughly acquainted, and will therefore pass over it with only one remark, the result of the only particular which has fallen under my observation ; viz. in some of the more eastern districts, this rice is planted in the latter end of December, usually on the shallow banks of rivers. I saw them in many places on both banks of the rivers, Megna, and Bruhmapootru. It is reaped in these places, and must be the case, in other places also, in May and June.

The article that, next to rice, occupies the principal share of the native husbandman's attention, is the Cupas or cotton. The lands appropriated to it need more ploughing than those in which paddy is sown. The seed is scattered without any aim at regularity or order, in consequence of which, the plants in some places grow too thick together, whilst in others very thin. In such places as they are too thick, they are thinned by plucking out some of the plants. This inconvenience is, indeed, felt in the cultivation of all the smaller grains which do not require transplantation ; and if the instrument or machine which is used in England, and in va-

\* All the three kinds of rice mentioned above, are cultivated there.—ED.



rious parts of the continent of Europe, for the purpose of scattering seeds, was introduced here, it would be avoided, and much advantage experienced. May not this boon also have been reserved for the East Indians\* ?

Much injury is sustained by the cotton, from want of sufficient rain on the one hand, and excess of hail on the other. When the latter is too abundant, the cotton crop totally fails. The cotton is sown in September, immediately after the *aoos* crop, and is fit to be gathered about April, which is generally done by women and children. The seeds are disengaged from the cotton by means of a pair of rollers turning in opposite directions; after which it is marketable.

There are two sorts of cotton, *Desec* and *Soortee*. The latter, a few of which I once planted along a hedge, is perennial. They attained to the height of 10 feet; and each bush, which consisted of three or four plants, yielded about a pound of very superior cotton. It seems unaccountable, unless it be with a view to gain a crop of rice before it, why, of the two descriptions of cotton, the latter should be chiefly cultivated by the farmers of this country. After my plants had ceased to bear, I cut them down to the ground; but ere long fresh plants shot up from the roots, and bore cotton which was not inferior to the first crop. I followed up this plan for three successive years, with similar result. In the fourth year they bore less, which I attribute to the little attention I had paid to them; and, indeed, they ultimately died away, as I had ceased to take any further trouble about them.

The sugar-cane is another article, which may be included in the staple commodities of Hindoosthan, that partakes a portion of the prime attention of the native cultivator, according to whose practice, the land, on which it is reared, does not require more ploughing than the lands of the articles of which I have already spoken. The upper end, or the most leafy part of the plants, having been lopped off the foregoing year, and having been preserved fresh in wet beds or excavations, either on the banks of ponds or other moist places, are taken up in the month of March following,

\* Dr. Carey, in his judicious address on the subject of this Appendix, published in the 1st No. of the Quarterly Series of the Friend of India, strongly recommends improvement in the implements of the husbandry of this country, and the introduction of European ones.—ED.

and cut into pieces of about the length of six inches, each of which usually contains four or five eyes or embryos of the future stalks, and, in that state, obliquely planted, closed together, in other moist beds, and covered over with straw or some such thing, to shelter them from the heat of the sun. When the eyes begin to send forth stalks, and the cuts to take root, they are removed into the fields prepared for their reception, where they are planted in rows, three feet apart from each other, and, to prevent failure, in pairs. At the roots of the plants, or about them, some of the sediments of the oil mill, which they suppose to possess the property of preventing white ants destroying them, are scattered. The spaces between the plants, which by this time are a couple feet high, are twice ploughed up without doing them any harm : after this the lands are occasionally irrigated ; and as the plants grow higher and higher, the lowest leaves, which begin to decay, are wrapped round the bushes to which they belong, with a view to prevent them from falling down, and to keep off insects. The sugar-cane is fit to be reaped in September : only those, however, cut it so early who take the canes for sale to the bazar ; those who manufacture sugar, leave the canes standing till November. It has been calculated, that a beegha of sugar-cane, cultivated by means of day-labourers, costs from 50 to 60 rupees, which, we may reasonably suppose, is nearly the amount realized by the farmer, when he cultivates and manufactures the sugar himself.

The indigenous cane is of two sorts, the green and the purple. The former has more juice, but the latter is sweeter, and valued more than the former. Of late, a gigantic species of the purple sugar-cane has been introduced, probably from the Carnatic, which is cultivated chiefly on the eastern banks of the Hooglee, in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. This species yields, comparatively, less juice than either of the others ; but its magnitude would demand the preference. As yet, I am not aware that a sufficient quantity of it is cultivated to admit of manufacturing sugar out of it : if it were, I have no reason to doubt that it would yield as good sugar as any of the others. They are brought to the bazars and markets of Calcutta, and sold in their natural state. Moist lands invariably create worms in the sugar-cane. High spots, therefore, are usually selected for their cultivation ; not however too high, for that again prevents their arriving at a tolerable height, though they are

not the less sweet or delicate for being shorter than they would otherwise be. The *urhur*, to which they ascribe the virtue of keeping out vermin, is generally sown round the sugar-cane fields. Jackalls, foxes, hares, and porcupines do considerable damage, in some parts of the country, in the cane fields.

To the above may be added, the plantain, a very useful article, and the cultivation of which deservedly occupies much of the care and attention of the farmer. The following are the different species which are cultivated of this fruit. The *chumpa*, the *cheence-chumpa*, the *murtwan*, the *chatganee*, or, as it is called by the Bengalees, *chatim*, the *ramkela*, the *kuchkela*, the *kuthalee*, and the *beejakela*, which derives its nomenclature from the great quantity of stones, of the size of a peppercorn, that are in them, and for which reason it is not only reckoned to be indifferent, but cultivated to a very small extent ; in general only a few bushes are planted in each field, and that not so much on account of the fruit as the leaves of it. The *ramkela*, the prettiest and best flavoured, is never cultivated by the farmers : those that are to be met with are found in the gardens of respectable individuals. Its not being cultivated by the farmers is owing to superstition, it being one of those things, the cultivation of which has never obtained among their ancestors ; and the departure, therefore, from this ancestral practice, or rather, non-practice, would involve a direct violation of one of the maxims which has received credit among them, that they must do nothing, or it is dangerous to do any thing, which their ancestors have not done. It is obvious, however, that this superstition is wearing away fast ; and many things which have been introduced by foreigners into the country, and which the natives have not scrupled to adopt, might be mentioned in confirmation of this assertion : but I conceive it is unnecessary. A single bunch of the *ramkela*, fetches more in the bazar than half a dozen of any other species.

The *murtwan* is generally believed to be the native of Dhaka ; but there is reason to suspect it is not the case ; it is more probable that it comes from a country of its own name, Martaban. The shell of this plantain, which is very thick, retains a considerable portion of the green colour, even when quite ripe : if, however, they are kept in straw, which is sometimes done for the purpose of ripening them, they become perfectly yellow. The flavour of it

approaches much to that of the *ramkela*. When it is ripe, it becomes too soft, and when not quite ripe it is very astringent: these defects, if they will be so called, however, are compensated for by the agreeableness of its taste. It is not cultivated in the interior of the country: the few bushes of it which we see, are in the gardens and fields, in the immediate vicinities of Calcutta, usually on both banks of the river. It is rarely to be met with in the bazar, though not so scarce as the *ramkela*.

The *chumpā*, of both species, is very common; the bazars teem with it. I have seen bunches of it so very large, as to require two coolies to carry one of them. When ripe, it has a very agreeable yellow colour, and pleasant flavour. This, as well as the *beejakela*, will grow and thrive any where, and that almost without any manner of culture. The *chumpā* is also not cultivated in the interior. The *chatgance* is yellow when ripe, and much larger than any of the species yet noticed, excepting the *beejakela*. It is cheap, and probably on that account the natives give it the preference to those already mentioned. In some respects, I am inclined to think, it is better than the *chumpā*; but then it requires a longer time to ripen, and very often, though the shell is quite yellow, the pulp is disagreeably astringent. In the cold season, the pulp is full of lumps of a hard consistence, which render it both uneatable and unwholesome: it is best during the hot season. The *kuthalee* (so termed from the fancy of the natives, which resembles its taste to that of the *kathal*, jack,) is cultivated all over the country, and in the largest quantities, but very unaccountably; for the *chumpā* is far superior, and bears an equal, and more than equal number of fruits. The *kuthalee*, in consequence of its abundancy, is the cheapest. I have often seen upwards of twenty sell for one pice. When it is suffered to arrive at perfection, it might be allowed to possess as rich a flavour as either the *chumpā* or *chatgance kela*: some give it the preference. The great mart for this, as well as several other species of the plantain, is Bydabatee. The multitudes of boats that are laden with it for the Calcutta markets would scarcely appear credible. These are generally green, but they are afterwards ripened by artificial means. Great quantities are also exported to the above-mentioned markets from Chakda and Sookh Sagur.

The *kuchkela*, which is never suffered to get ripe, is most prized by the natives, on account of its being adapted for use as a cu-

linary vegetable. The fields exhibit this and the last mentioned species in the greatest abundance. The *kuchkela* is of two species, the triangular, which, though less in size, and containing less edible substance, is better in quality than the other, which is pentangular in shape. The *kuchkela* is one of those few articles of food which their circumscribing religion allows the Hindoos the use of. I am of opinion that it is a very valuable fruit, as it may be used in lieu of bread, if properly prepared; though where wheat is procurable, I would give bread the preference. They taste well, both when fried and dressed up with fish curries, or in other such shapes: in short, it is a very wholesome vegetable. The bunches these trees bear are by no means so large as those which those of any of the other species bear; but the fruits are larger: the largest ones I have seen, measured nearly a foot in length, and two inches in diameter.

The grounds selected for the cultivation of the article, the different species of which I have just been briefly describing, are rather elevated, and such as have lain waste for some time, or have had a deep coat of earth, dug out of old tanks, spread over them. I have not known a single instance of land, intended for it, manured by any other means: and unless a fresh coat of earth is thrown in the field, it never thrives more than four years on the same spot. After the ground has been indifferently ploughed a couple times, the young plants are set in regular rows, at the distance of eight or nine feet from each other, which is done between the months of May and September, but chiefly in the last month, because at that time the superfluous upsets are dug up to make room for those which are to remain about the parent tree. If too many sprouts are permitted to remain about the parent, they never acquire a proper size, and consequently bear but indifferent fruit: moreover, the parent tree is considerably injured. Only two of the upsets, one on each side of the parent, are therefore suffered to remain. As one tree never bears fruit more than once, it is cut down after the fruits have come to perfection. Of the four years in which the plantain is cultivated on one spot, the products of the second and third years are best: in the fourth year its quality begins to decline. After the tree that has borne fruit is cut down, the root of it is suffered to remain in the ground till the month of October, when the earth is ploughed up, and the roots dug

up. In the month of August, the earth is scraped away, by means of a hoe or *kodalee*, from about the foot of the plant, and placed in mounds in the middle of the space between each row, and replaced in its former position some time afterwards.

There is scarcely a part of this plant which is not turned to some useful purpose or other by the natives. 1. The fruit; the uses of which need no mention. 2. The green leaves; which supply the place, first, of plates and dishes:—hence plates and dishes, and even cups and saucers, of all descriptions, whether made of stone, metal, earth, or wood, are called *pottro*, which is the name, in the native language, of leaves in general. Secondly, of paper, as the papyrus which grew on the banks of the Nile supplied the place of it to the Egyptians, &c.—hence letters, &c. are called *pot-tro*. At present, the use of it for the purposes of writing is confined to schools; but it is not at all unlikely, that before the invention of paper it was more general. And thirdly, of covering or envelope to various articles, such as sugar, salt, betel, flowers, &c. for which purpose it is brought into the market longitudinally divided, and rolled up in bundles containing twenty pieces each. On this head it may be remarked, that the practice of divesting the trees of their uppermost leaves, which the natives indulge in, is detrimental to their growth. 3. The dry leaves which hang down about the trunk, are cut off, and sold in bundles at the bazar for fuel. 4. The pith, which is used as vegetable for food. 5. The fructification, or *mocha*, which is likewise used as vegetable. And 6. The roots, or rather the bulbous parts of the trees which have been cut down, and which, as observed before, remain in the earth till October, are burnt, after being dried in the sun, and the ashes sold to the washermen, who use it in bleaching clothes. The roots of the *kuthalee*, *kuchkela*, and *chatganee*, are reckoned to be best for this purpose, on account of their possessing a greater degree of astringency than the rest.

A more useful tree than the plantain can scarcely be conceived. To what a variety of purposes the different parts of it are applied. But equal to its utility, are the profits derivable from it. A field of plantains of the extent of 8 or 10 beeghas, affords ample means of support to the cultivator. The daily vend of the several parts above enumerated fetches eight annas: to the correctness of this, I can vouch my own experience.

It is not, however, exempt from misfortunes. A heavy shower of hail destroys the prospects of the cultivator for a couple years. The East Indian colonists should not exclusively appropriate any spot to the cultivation of this article : any small waste patch of ground would answer well, and perhaps best. The high banks of tanks, which are entirely neglected by the natives, would afford superior crops of plantains. Every creek and cranny should be planted with it.

The last of those articles which occupy the chief attention of the native farmer, which I shall mention, is the tobacco, the amazing consumption of which, all over the world, is incredible. I am aware that East India is not the only place where it is produced, and that in America, as well as in other quarters of the globe, great quantities of it are also cultivated ; but I refer to the curious fact of its having become, in a short time, such a favourite of the world. In Europe, the use of tobacco was unknown before the discovery of the new world, *where*, we are told by Robertson, the credulity of the people not only ascribed a thousand imaginary virtues to the use of it, “ but their superstition considered the plant itself as a gracious gift of the gods, for the solace of human kind, and the most acceptable offering which man can present to heaven.” Lane and his associates introduced it in England. In India, but particularly in Bengal, an acquaintance with the use of it is acquired from childhood by the natives, and it is a luxury without which they cannot absolutely do. That under such circumstances, even if the use of it by Europeans here and abroad did not superinduce the necessity of a more extensive cultivation, it should share much of the native farmer’s attention, is not a matter of surprise.

It is said, that nothing else of consequence will arrive at perfection in tobacco lands. However this be, the preparing of the land is attended with unusual labour. It must be dug or ploughed deeper for it than for any other article of cultivation, and must be literally reduced to dust. The ploughing commences in July, and is not finished before the end of August. Between those months, the seed is cast in a small elevated bed, after which the surface of the earth is beat down. When the plants have arrived at the height of four or five inches, they are removed to the fields, and planted at a short distance from each other in rows. When the plants are about

one foot high, the tender stalks are nipped off between the nails, with a view to cause all the moisture which the plants draw from the earth to flow into the leaves, which are left on the stem, and which are seldom more than six. This nipping off of the stalks or scions is repeated as often as they make their appearance ; at the same time the lands are kept clear of weeds, and plentifully irrigated. In such spots where the water lodges for any length of time, or such as are more moist than others, the tobacco leaves become shrivelled, and acquire a pale green colour, both which are symptoms of inferiority of crop. On the contrary, when the leaves are broad, thick, of a dark green colour, and the spaces between the veins considerably swollen, they are signs of a good crop. The leaves are fit for being removed when they become crisp, and break with a noise when doubled close. The first crop consists of the lowest leaves, which are broken off as they begin to change colour, and are suffered to lie on the ground for two or three days, and then removed to be dried in the sun. This mode of drying the leaves is prejudicial to their quality, and hence the first crop is always very indifferent. The second crop is reaped in January. The plants are cut down, and undergo a similar process of curing as the leaves of the first crop, which, therefore, is not much superior to it. The tobacco of Bengal is not so good as that of the Upper Provinces. The best tobacco in India is produced at Chunar, or rather Chundal or Choonargurh ; as in America, the best tobacco is produced at Cuba. There is another sample of equally good quality, and, perhaps, superior, found on the coast of Coromandel, called *bundamoor-lunka*. There is another very curious species of tobacco, partially cultivated, at Jusur\*, the leaves of which are round, and the flowers more abundant and larger : it is ten times stronger than any I am acquainted with, and not subjected by its cultivators to the process of treatment which the tobacco of other parts undergoes, nor are the scions taken away as in them.

It would prove an endless task to treat individually of the various articles which are cultivated by the native farmers : it is not necessary ; nor would the limits I have been under the necessity of prescribing to this portion of my task admit of it. Some of the articles which share the principal attention of the farmer in their cultivation, I have, as far as my knowledge of them went,

\* It is also cultivated farther eastward—ED.



submitted to the notice of the reader. It is upon these especially, that the East Indian colonists will have to depend, next to their live stock, for the comfortable support of themselves and families.

A variety of other things of less value is cultivated by the native farmers ; but these generally comprise the second and third crops, and are very carelessly attended to. They would undoubtedly thrive better under the care of the East Indian colonists. Some of them we may just run over. Ginger, garlic, onions, turmeric, and chillies, may be mentioned together, as nearly the same mode of cultivation is observed in reference to them. The two former, according to the plan of the natives, only require to be committed to the ground, to secure a crop of each. After the ground has been moderately ploughed, trenches of the depth of three inches are dug, in which, in the month of August, the roots are laid, and covered over with a couple hands-full of dust. As the plants grow up, the earth raised from the trenches are replaced with some additional earth from the space between the rows. This treatment is also observed with respect to potatoes of both sorts, with several species of the *arum* (*kuchchoo*,) &c. I met with considerable success in rearing the chilly in a similar manner. The melons, cucumbers, and all other creepers undergo the treatment observed with regard to the commoner articles of cultivation, which are comprised in the second and third crops. If they are now and then watered, and the earth about their roots kept loose, such is the native richness of the soil, that they are generally turned to very good account. One species of the onion, however, requires a little more than ordinary labour. After the land has undergone the process of ploughing, it is divided into beds of ten feet square, into which, after having been sufficiently puddled with plenty of water, the plants are removed from the nursery. Hereafter the earth is kept well weeded and loosened, and now and then irrigated. This onion is the best, being more full-bodied and richer in quality than others.

The *sun* and *pat*, from which rope, twine, &c. are manufactured, require simply the seed to be thickly scattered ; and the closer the plants are to each other, the more delicate is their bark. The flower of the former, and the leaves of the latter, make very good curry. The *sun* is cut down while in blossom, as the fibres then

are tender, and will admit of fine twine being spun out of them. Only so much is left standing as will yield a sufficiency of seed. After the plants are cut down, they are tied into bundles of one foot in diameter, and planted in ponds with their heads a little above water. After a couple days they are turned upside down. In the space of four days they are taken out, and the fibres separated, either by being beaten with the stock of a cocoa-nut leaf, or on the surface of the water, and put in the sun to dry. They are then packed up in bales, for sale, &c.

From the above detail of facts, the following conclusions are warranted. 1st. That the natives are very indolent. This remark has been more than once anticipated before; but there is no objection to repeating it here. It is difficult to say what may have contributed to form this feature of the native character, unless the hint thrown out in a previous part of the essay be admitted, that such is the rich luxuriance of the soil of the country, that little labour is necessary to secure a sufficiency of means for the support of life. To this may be added another reason, that there is little incentive to industry under the indolent and injurious system adopted by *zumcendars*, of renting their *talooks* to a second person, and that second to a third, and so on; which, while each but the last never makes the transfer without an unreasonably exorbitant profit, renders it necessary that the last should look to the quarter, the *ryots*, from whence the whole of the means of the profit of so many must be derived besides his own. The consequences are high rent and oppressive exactions; and it is impossible that under such circumstances there can be any motive to activity. 2. That great improvements are necessary, both in the implements and modes of cultivation in vogue among the natives. And 3, and lastly, That if the East Indian colonists are industrious, and will adopt improved methods and implements of culture, there is no reason why they should not prosper.

THE END.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

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*Owing to the pages of the Essay having much exceeded the number originally intended to be given, it cannot possibly be bound in boards, as was proposed in the Prospectus, without additional charge ; it will therefore be issued stitched.*

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**FREE TRADE**  
**AND**  
**COLONISATION**  
**OF**  
**INDIA.**



**A VIEW**  
**OF THE**  
**PRESENT STATE**  
**FUTURE PROSPECTS**  
**OF THE**  
**Free Trade and Colonisation**  
**OF**  
**INDIA.**

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# COMMERCE AND COLONIZATION

## OF

## INDIA.

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THE inhabitants of Calcutta have lately transmitted petitions to the two Houses of Parliament, the virtual objects of which are free trade and free settlement of British subjects in India, vulgarly called colonization. These are the two most important questions involved in the relations subsisting between Great Britain and her Indian dominions, and to which all others are secondary or subservient. The few following pages will be devoted to their examination ; and we imagine it will be no very difficult matter to demonstrate, to those accustomed to a fair exercise of their reason, that, whether as regards the interests of Hindus or Englishmen, both are equally useful, equally safe, and equally necessary. Perhaps on no subjects of such magnitude and importance has this country or any other been subjected to so great, so long-continued, and so pernicious a delusion. It is painful, indeed, to recur to the too successful efforts which were so perseveringly made during the three years which preceded the last renewal of the Indian charter, to mislead and abuse the judgment of the nation and the legislature in regard to them. We were told, in a tone of oracular authority, and on the alleged experience of two centuries, that the trade between Great



Britain and India was wholly incapable of extension,—that we could furnish nothing new which the Hindus wanted, nor the Hindus produce any thing new which we required. We were told, in one breath, that the Hindus were so peculiar a people, that they would be driven into a rebellion, which would cost us the loss of our dominion, on account of the mere resort of British merchants to their country; and in another, that if such resort were permitted, India would soon be peopled with Englishmen, and her gentle aboriginal inhabitants exterminated, or reduced to the condition of helots. Then we were told that the Hindus were a good and moral people, and would only be depraved by an intercourse with Englishmen. And, finally, we were assured that the existing administration was quite perfect; in short, that the Indians, hating changes of every description, were enamoured of monopoly and all its consequences. A short collection of such opinions will be found in the Appendix, which the curious reader may compare with the results.

The experience of thirteen years has nearly disabused the public on the subject of free trade; but on the question of colonisation, the old delusions continue to be as perseveringly and intrepidly practised as if the judgment of the parties holding such notions had never been stultified.

As far as the question of free trade is concerned, the answer to the alleged statements and predictions of its opponents is quite triumphant. In 1814, the last year of the Company's enjoyment of the exclusive monopoly, the whole exports from Great Britain to India and China together amounted only to 2,559,033*l*. Of this amount, the exports to China were 987,788*l*., leaving for India, therefore, only 1,571,245*l*., a great portion of which consisted of military stores\*. The Company's exports to China since that time appear

\* "Lord Buckinghamshire would state, with the most re-

to have continued stationary, or rather to have declined. In the meanwhile the whole exports from Great Britain to India and China have risen to the sum of 4,739,359*l.*, which was their amount in 1826. Deducting from this sum the exports to China, estimated at the sum already stated, but which is probably about double their real amount, it will appear that our export trade to India has increased, in twelve years, to the sum of 3,751,571*l.* In 1814, our whole imports from India and China amounted to 6,298,386*l.* This valuation includes remittance of Revenue by the East India Company, in the shape of goods, and is enhanced by the whole amount of the monopoly profit on tea. The true amount of course cannot fairly be estimated beyond the legitimate charges and profits on the exports. In 1826, the imports, without any augmentation in those from China, had increased to 8,002,838*l.*

The articles of export from Great Britain, and of import into it, have increased both in quantity and variety. In 1814, the total number of yards of cotton piece-goods exported was 818,208; in 1826, it was 26,225,103; or had increased, in twelve years, by 25,406,895\*. Besides these, there have

sincerity, that he had the strongest disposition to support the East India Company; not merely from sentiments of personal goodwill, but because he thought their dissolution would be a public misfortune, and the ruin of many respectable individuals; but when he considered, that, by their own showing, they had lost, in the last nineteen years, above four millions by the trade for which they were contending, and that the merchants of this country asked no more than to be put upon a footing with foreigners, he could find no argument to resist their application."—*Extract from the Speech of the EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, then President of the Board of Controul, 1813.*

\* "English cotton cloths, both white and printed, are to be met with commonly in wear among the people of the country; and may, I learned to my surprise, be bought best and cheapest, as well as all kinds of hardware, crockery, writing desks, &c., at Palla, a large town, and celebrated mart, in Marwar, on the edge

been exported to India some descriptions of cottons not measured. The value of the whole cotton cloths in 1814 was 109,490*l*. In 1826 it was 1,059,471*l*.

To this statement of our cotton fabrics, however, must be added the export of twist and yarn. In 1814 the quantity exported was 8*lbs*.! In 1826 it rose to 919,387*lbs*.\*, valued at 100,869*l*. This sum, added to the price of the cotton cloths, makes our total exports of manufactured cottons 1,160,340*l*. It is necessary to observe, that British cotton piece-goods sell at present in India for about one-third part of the price which they did in 1814.

In 1814 the number of pieces of broad cloths, camlets, serges, &c. exported from Great Britain to the East Indies and China, amounted to 242,809½; in 1826 to 296,563 pieces. The value of all the woollens exported in 1814 was 1,084,435*l*.; in 1826 it was 1,197,909*l*. The comparatively trifling increase which has taken place in this article requires some explanation; it is owing to the trade being chiefly in the hands of the East India Company, as far as British subjects are concerned, and their having the entire monopoly of China, the great market for this article. Out of the value of 1,160,340*l*. worth of cottons exported in 1826, the share of the East India Company was only 15,181*l*.; out of the 1,197,909*l*. worth of woollens, their share was no less than 921,852*l*. Although possessing so much of this trade to themselves, it has not only not increased in their

of the desert, several days' journey west of Joudpoor, where, till very lately, no European was known to have penetrated."—HEBER's *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, Vol. II., p. 36. "The cotton produced in this district is mostly sent to England raw, and the manufactures of England are preferred, by the people of Dacca themselves, for their cheapness."—Vol. I., p. 141.

\* Last year the quantity of cotton twist and yarn exported to India was no less than 2,672,536*lbs*. and in the three first months of the present year it has been 1,149,240*lbs*.

hands, but fallen off within the last twelve years, for in 1814 its amount was 1,064,222*l*.

The same observation which applies to woollens applies to such of the metals as the East India Company perseveres in dealing in their competition—discouraging the fair adventure of the free trader. The export of iron and steel, in 1814, amounted to 11,108 tons; and in 1826 it was only 11,870; nearly one-half of the whole being exported by the Company. Of copper, the quantity exported in 1814 was 1881 tons; and in 1826 only 1592 tons. It is needless to repeat that not only is the competition of the East India Company, in respect to the metals, mischievous as regards India in particular, but that it is still more so in consequence of the private traders being wholly shut out from the greater market of China.

This fact is sufficiently corroborated by what has taken place in respect to the article of spelter, or zinc. The East India Company does not interfere in this; and it is but a few years ago that the private traders began to deal in it. The market for spelter is India, and not China; from which last, in fact, the former used to be supplied. In 1814, spelter, as an import from Great Britain, or from any part of Europe, was unknown in the market of Calcutta; in 1826, it was imported to the value of 132,860*l*. About 50,000*l*. worth of this commodity, under the name of tutenague, used to be imported from China, from whence it was smuggled; the exportation of it from that country, as, indeed, of all other metals, being contraband. In 1826 the value of this article imported into Calcutta from China was just 5*l*. 14*s*.! It has been driven out of the market by the cheaper article imported from Europe; and this cheapness had occasioned an increased consumption, to the extent of more than double the value, and perhaps of thrice the quantity\*.

\* For the last four years the average exports of spelter to India have exceeded 7000 tons. In 1826 they were 8516 tons.

We come now to the imports into Great Britain from India, the most instructive branch of our subject. There are three great and obvious impediments to the extension of the export trade of India, or imports into this country: the impolitic monopolies or competition of the East India Company, the Government of the country; the prohibitory or protecting duties, imposed under pretext of encouraging the colonial industry of other portions of the empire; and the absurd and fatal exclusion of European capital and enterprise from improving the productions of the soil and industry of India. It will be seen, from the examination which we are now about to make, that, in proportion as one or all of these causes have operated, the trade in each article of Indian exportation will be found to have been injuriously affected.

The first article to which we shall advert is tea, the greatest of our imports, and the subject of a rigorous monopoly. In 1814 the import of this article into Great Britain (much smaller than during many years of the war), was 26,076,550lbs.; on the average of the following six years, the import was only 27,838,439lbs.; on the average of the subsequent six years, it was 29,668,098lbs. In twelve years, in fact, the whole increase was only 3,599,548lbs\*. The consumption of the corresponding article of coffee, under free trade, has, in the meanwhile, been more than doubled !

\* " In the year 1800, when the population of the United Kingdom was 15,149,258, the whole quantity of tea on which duty was paid, was 26,398,805lbs., which gives an average of  $27\frac{3}{4}$  ounces per head per annum for each individual. In 1810, when the population may be estimated at 18,534,659, the quantity on which duty was paid, was 28,469,736lbs., giving only  $24\frac{1}{2}$  ounces per head. In 1820, the quantity, duty paid, was 26,100,000lbs., and the population being estimated at 21,193,458, the average per head falls to  $19\frac{1}{2}$  ounces ; or, in twenty years, the supply had diminished, as compared with the population, by  $29\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. !"—*Report of the Liverpool East India Association, March, 1828, page 18.*

The quantity of raw and waste silk imported from India and China in 1814 was 1,116,113lbs.; in the following six years, it averaged 1,039,591lbs. only; in the subsequent six years, the average rose to 1,361,392lbs. The explanation is edifying: the Company's exports from China had been for many years stationary, and in Bengal the Government has a virtual monopoly. The whole of the silk filatures are in their hands, and the monopoly regulations, enacted by them in the year 1793, were actually in force down to the month of July last, when, after many remonstrances on the part of the merchants connected with the East India trade, the Board of Controul compelled the Directors to send out orders *to modify* them. By the regulations in question they claimed a right of levying extents, as exercised by the Crown in revenue cases in this country!!! By advances to the peasantry in the silk districts, and making them their debtors, they had in reality rendered the cultivators and manufacturers completely subservient to them; reduced them, in short, to a condition worse than that of Russian serfs or villains. Owing to this state of things, and the prohibition on the part of Europeans to hold lands, every attempt made by private individuals to invest their capital in the manufacture of silk ends in ruin, and the virtual monopoly in favour of the Company has been established to which we have alluded. The increased quantity, in the last six years of the statement, has arisen chiefly out of indirect importations from China by private individuals, consequent upon the just and politic improvements made in the silk trade in this country. In the year 1826, for example, we perceive that there is an increase in the importation, beyond 1814, of no less than 673,747lbs.; a large portion of which is Chinese silk, imported from Singapore.

Indigo is an article in the culture and management of which the East India Company fortunately does not

materially interfere—which is not burthened by protecting duties or heavy imposts ; and above all, which receives the benefit, although by no means a full and legitimate one, of European skill and capital. Europeans first began the culture and manufacture of indigo about forty-five years ago. What was manufactured by the natives of India prior to that time was trash unfit for the European market, then almost wholly supplied by America. There are at present in Bengal 309 manufactories of indigo for exportation, of which thirty-seven only are conducted by natives, and these in imitation of the European process. The Indians cannot even imitate us to any advantage with so many examples before them, for the indigo thus prepared is full fifteen per cent. lower in value than that manufactured by Europeans : and as to indigo made by the old native process, it is still wholly unfit for the foreign market ; and even when re-manufactured by Europeans, which is sometimes done, it is still a very inferior commodity. The average quantity of indigo produced in Bengal yearly, may be taken at 8,000,000lbs., a precarious crop, from its nature ; it has sometimes been as low as 3,500,000lbs., and at other times risen to near 12,000,000lbs.\* Last year's produce was equal to this last amount. Here is a property worth about 2,000,000*l.* sterling per annum, created solely by the skill, capital, and enterprise of British-born subjects, living in India on sufferance. About four-fifths of the consumption of Europe, Asia, and America, is now supplied with good Bengal indigo ; a commodity which forty-five years ago had no existence. All Bengal indigo is better than all Spanish American indigo by about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Before Europeans undertook its culture and manufacture, it was, as

\* In 1786, the import of Bengal indigo into this country was 245,000lbs. In 1826, it was 7,673,710lbs., an increase of more than thirty-fold !

already stated, so bad as to be unsaleable in a foreign market.

Another article which owes its existence to European ingenuity and enterprise, is the dye procured from lac, obtained by a cheap and simple chemical process. Previous to the opening of the trade this article did not exist. The process was discovered by some enterprising Europeans, and even now is imitated, but at an humble distance, by the natives; what the latter manufacture seldom being of one-half, and often of not one-fourth the value of what is prepared by Europeans. Of this article, which has in a great measure superseded the high-priced one of cochineal, Bengal at present produces about 800,000lbs. In the last year of the Company's former charter, there was of course none imported into Great Britain. In 1824 the exports from Bengal to Great Britain amounted to 656,000lbs.\*

There are other articles which the capital and ingenuity of Europeans have called into existence, or greatly extended, since the establishment of the free trade, which deserve a short notice; safflower is one of these. In 1814 the quantity of this article exported from Bengal was about 1250cwt.; in 1824 it was above 5000cwt.

Since the date of the free trade the Chinese, encouraged by European capital and example, discovered a process for manufacturing pearl sago, by which the intrinsic value of the article was more than quadrupled, and thus rendered so much more suitable for exportation to the distant market of Europe. Singapore has exported of this article, to Great Britain, in a single year, more than 18,000cwt., notwithstanding that the commodity is burthened with a duty little short of 100 per cent. on its prime cost.

\* The advantage gained by this improvement may be judged of, when it is known that the value of the manufactured article is six times greater than that of the crude one, which used to be imported.



Ore of antimony is another article called into existence by the free trade. This was discovered for the first time, in 1824, to be an abundant produce of the island of Borneo. Two years afterwards, 600 tons of it were sent to Great Britain from the new port of Singapore. In 1826 the quantity of foreign European ore of antimony imported into London amounted to 1386 casks or boxes, and of Bornean 1290 boxes. In 1827 the quantity of foreign antimony imported was 500 boxes, and of Bornean 13,660 boxes, which became then an article of export as well as import. Tin ore is at this moment becoming an article of import into Great Britain from the Malay countries, which contain the richest and most extensive tin districts in the world. This speculation arose out of a very obvious source: all the tin of the Malayan countries is stream ore, which it is that produces grain tin; now from this fine ore the Chinese, with their utmost skill, can only obtain fifty, or, at best, fifty-five per cent. of metal; and even this metal, when it comes to Europe, must be refined before it assumes the rank of English grain tin. By the skilful process of smelting pursued in this country, the Malayan ore has been found to yield near three-fourths of its weight of metal instead of one-half; and without further cost or labour the product is at once grain tin. It would not surprise us to find that, in a few years, we not only supplied Europe with this article, but that we also sent it back to India and China, in the same manner in which we send manufactured cottons to those countries. These minor articles are only adverted to, to show the impulse and consequent revolution which free trade has produced in the Indian commerce, the reader bearing always in mind, that not a tithe of the possible commerce of the Indies is yet laid open to British enterprise, while its necessary auxiliary, free settlement, has not been permitted to produce any effect at all.

We shall now refer to some articles which do not receive the advantages of European skill and superintendence, and see what the consequence is to their production, both in quantity and quality. Cotton-wool is one of these. In 1814, the quantity of this article imported into Great Britain from India was 2,850,318lbs.; in 1818 it rose to 67,456,411lbs., but afterwards fell off greatly from this amount; and in 1826 was only 21,187,900lbs. The cause of this is obvious enough. The rude produce of unassisted native industry is wholly incapable of competing with the improved produce of European industry in the different colonies of America. The best East India cotton, which is that brought to this country, is inferior in value to the worst that is brought from any other country. It is in short nearly in the condition that Indian indigo was before it was manufactured by Europeans. The East India cotton in the London market, is inferior to the best West India cotton by three-pence per pound. It is just half the value of Berbice cotton. The best cotton of the Spanish main is by full fifty per cent. superior to it. Pernambuco and Egyptian cotton are 100 per cent. better. Bourbon, Manilla, and Sea Island cottons are superior in a still greater ratio. To what is such inferiority owing, but to this—that the skill of Europeans is directed to the culture and preparation of all these varieties, while the East India cotton is left to the rude and slovenly industry of the native inhabitants? In fact, no attempt whatever has been made to improve the produce of India. It is grown, prepared, and brought to market, just as it was three hundred years ago, and in all likelihood three thousand. The soil and climate of India must not be blamed for this. They are equal in capability to those of any other portion of the tropical world, and superior to the greater number. Cotton is not an article of difficult production, or one requiring a capricious selection of

soil and climate. The enumeration of varieties which we have above given, shows that a moderate share of skilful culture is sufficient to bring it to perfection, in any soil of competent fertility and suitableness in North and South America, in Africa, and in Asia, from the equator to the 30th degree of latitude on both sides of it; and, in longitude, from the Philippine Islands on the one side, round to the Mauritius on the other. Why, it may be asked, do not British-born subjects engage in the culture of cotton in the same manner in which they engage in the culture and manufacture of indigo? The answer is easy. The quantity of British capital which is allowed, under existing regulations, to benefit the agriculture of India is comparatively trifling; and it is more advantageously employed in producing indigo than in improving cotton. A few hundred acres of land are sufficient to invest a large capital in indigo, and a very small number of Europeans is sufficient for superintendence. Thousands of acres would not be sufficient for the same investment of cotton. From the small number of Europeans, there could be no adequate superintendence over so wide an extent of country; and there could be no security against depredation, in a commodity far more liable to it than the other. Moreover, to improve the cotton of India, the present annual and coarse varieties must be supplanted by perennial and finer ones—a circumstance which would occasion a complete revolution in this branch of husbandry, a revolution which could only be effected by European proprietors or their tenants: besides all this, the introduction of expensive machinery, both for cleaning and packing, would be necessary. What European in his senses, holding land at high rent from a native proprietor, from year to year, in a country where no civil suit is brought to trial under three years from its institution, and often not under seven, and where, by law, he may be removed

from his property for ever, with or without offence, would enter upon so precarious a speculation ?

We come now to an article which feels the full force of all the impediments thrown in its way, *viz.* sugar. The Government of the country enters into a competition in it with the merchant; European industry is excluded from its culture and its manufacture; and the Legislature steps in with its discriminating duty, to complete the work of restraint, and nearly of destruction.

The quantity of sugar imported into Great Britain from the East Indies in 1814, was only 43,789cwt.; in 1826 it rose to 342,853cwt. No less than 186,245cwt. of this is the produce of the Island of Mauritius; that is to say, the imports into this country from a petty and rather barren island are greater, in the grand staple of the tropical world, not only than that of all British India, with its area of 600,000 square miles, but of the whole of the Eastern world put together, the said island excepted, embracing a population of certainly not less than 300,000,000 of inhabitants. In the first year of the free trade, the importations from India were 124,318cwt. Down to 1820 there was no extraordinary increase; for until that year the growth of sugar in the Mauritius was not extensive. In this year the latter rose from 5,678,888lbs., which it was in 1819, to 14,524,755lbs.; in 1823 it rose to 27,400,887lbs. It was in this last year that the duties on Mauritius sugars, heretofore the same with those upon other Indian sugars, were equalised with the produce of the West Indies. This reduction of duties, however, could not have affected the produce of that year. To what, then, is this extraordinary increase to be ascribed, in an island of very limited extent, of no remarkable fertility of soil in comparison with the millions of available acres in Hindustan, and where the labours of agriculture are peculiarly precarious, in consequence of the preva-

lence of destructive hurricanes? A new soil, as yet unexhausted by the bad husbandry inseparable from the exclusive cultivation of sugar, the labour of cheap slaves, the introduction of European machinery, and the superintendence of European resident proprietors, are the true causes. The Mauritius sugar was at first of a very inferior quality, and a great deal of it is so still. The best of it is now superior to the best Bengal sugar, the only description which can be imported into this country, by about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. During the last eight years there have been sent to the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, but chiefly to the latter, by a single iron founder, no less than 200 sugar-mills\*, the greater number of them with steam engines attached. To the territories of the East India Company not one has been sent—no such improvements are introduced there! Here, the sugar-cane continues to be grown by the same rude husbandry, and sugar manufactured by the same miserable processes as, in all human probability, three thousand years ago. The land belongs exclusively to the natives, European skill and capital are carefully and systematically excluded, and as long as this impolitic and absurd restraint continues the sugars of India will be inferior, and will be costly; and it is even doubtful whether, if India enjoyed the monopoly which is now enjoyed against it, it would be capable, with all its advantages of soil, climate, extent, and free labour, of competing with the British West Indies. Unquestionably it would not with those portions of tropical America possessed of a soil and climate equal to its own.

A short description of the Indian modes of growth and manufacture, will at once show the reader that it is hopeless to expect either a good or cheap product. The grower is a miserable peasant, without

\* Mr. William Fawcett, of Liverpool, a gentleman of great ingenuity, and who has for many years conducted one of the most extensive iron foundries in the kingdom.

skill and without capital, who neither manures his ground, understands how to relieve it by a rotation of crops, or makes any attempt to improve the variety of the plant. The sugar-mill consists of two small rollers, from four to six inches in diameter, turned, in opposition to each other, by two men, or a wretched bullock. The boiling utensils are four small coarse earthen pots, of about the value of two-pence. The grinding, boiling, and distilling houses are one and the same, and consist of four stakes driven in the ground, with a mat over them for a roof. The first manufacturer carries the process no further than expissating the juice, the result being an ugly brown mass containing both the sugar and molasses. This unsightly product is carried to another description of manufacturer, fifteen, twenty, or even a hundred miles off, who re-dissolves it, and, with the assistance of alkalis to neutralise the acid which has been formed through the tedious and paltry process of his predecessor, gets, after all, no more than 25 per cent. of sugar, and this ill granulated, and deficient in saccharine matter.

The sugar-cane is known to be an indigenous product of India, and in fact it is, more or less, a product of agriculture in every considerable country of the vast regions comprehended under that name, from the 8th degree of South, to the 30th degree of North latitude, and from Persia to China, both inclusive. Of all this wide extent, there is no portion more suitable to its growth than our own possessions\*. This, indeed, is a point so long admitted, that it need not be insisted upon. To produce abundance of sugar in India, and of the best quality, all that is necessary is to remove the impolitic restraints on the

\* "And I can answer for myself, that in the whole range of Calcutta, from Dacca to Delhi, and thence through the greater part of Rajpootana and Malwah, the raising of sugar is as usual a part of husbandry, as turnips or potatoes in England."—*Bishop HERBER's Journal*, Vol. II., p. 381.

settlement of Europeans. The inevitable effect will be the immediate application of European capital, skill, and machinery, to the production of the most important of all tropical commodities ; and one without a free culture and free commerce in which, half our expectations of extended commerce with the East must end in disappointment.

As in the case of cotton, it may be asked, why European skill is not at present applied to the production of sugar, as it is to that of indigo ? The reason is very obvious ; more skill and more capital are required in the one pursuit than in the other : the culture of the indigo plant is simple, and the returns rapid ; that of the sugar-cane complex and tedious. An indigo crop is reaped in three months from the time of sowing ; a crop of sugar-cane takes four times as long to come to maturity. A crop of sugar-cane is liable to depredation in an open, unfenced, and unprotected country ; one of indigo to hardly any at all. Indigo works, capable of producing yearly 10,000*l.* worth of the dye, may be constructed for about the sum of 700*l.* ; sugar works, capable of yielding a produce of equal value, would require an investment of capital to the amount of 24,000*l.* Who would invest such a capital in a country where he can neither buy nor sell land, nor receive security upon it, where the judge and the magistrate are hostile, because labouring under the usual prejudice and delusion of their caste, and where the administration of justice is in such a state that an appeal to it is nearly hopeless ?

There is one great source of extending the trade of Great Britain with India, and of improving the wealth and industry of India itself, to which it will be proper shortly to advert—the abolition of the East India Company's monopolies of opium and salt. From the British dominions, and other portions of India, there are exported to China, the adjacent countries on the Continent, and the Indian islands,

yearly, about 12,500 chests of opium, or in round numbers about 1,750,000lbs. weight: this is exchanged in the countries in question to the annual value of about three millions sterling\*. The consumers, besides using opium medicinally, use it also in the same manner in which we use claret, brandy, &c. The good people of England have a prejudice against opium eating, and opium smoking: they associate these practices with running mucks, and other horrid offences, with which they have no more to do than with horse or sheep-stealing. The worthy and well-meaning abettors of this prejudice should understand that the Chinese, who consume three-fourths of all the quantity to which we have alluded, never run a muck, and are the most industrious, the most sober, and, upon the whole, even the most moral people of the Indies. The East India Company, however, takes advantage of the prejudice, such as it is, and while it pockets about a million sterling yearly by encouraging the alleged immorality, makes it the pretext for continuing a grievous monopoly, equally injurious to trade as to agriculture†.

Opium, under the native government of India, was grown indiscriminately, wherever there was soil and

\* This mighty consumption, which it is alleged must either poison or demoralise the Chinese Empire, amounts, reckoning the population at the lowest estimate ever made of it, or 150 millions, to about  $\frac{1}{1000}$  of an ounce per head per annum. It is hardly enough to afford moderate relief from occasional fits of the tooth-ache, if the inhabitants of that country have their due share of this malady.

† The East India Company exhibits the most ludicrous coquetting upon this subject which can well be imagined. It prohibits its own ships, under the severest penalties, from smuggling opium into China (the whole trade is contraband), while it encourages, by every means consistent with the monopoly, the practice of smuggling in others. A few years ago, the Company's opium was packed in half chests and small balls, for the express and avowed convenience of the smuggling trade. The plan totally failed, but was we'll meant.



climate suitable for its culture. In its old provinces the East India Company forbade its culture except in two districts: they paid the cultivator about 14*l.* per chest, and this chest they sold at a price which for some years back has seldom been under 200*l.*, and occasionally reached 400*l.* The quantity produced under this system had varied very little for thirty years. Matters went on very smoothly, and the monopoly was declared to be perfect, just, and judicious, until some unforeseen and untoward events took place. The first of these was the introduction of Turkey opium into China and the Indian islands, by the Americans. The yearly import of this article, by these interlopers, may be estimated at the value of 200,000*l.* The East India Company took alarm, lest any British subject should benefit by this branch of trade, and with the consent of the authorities in England, always readily granted upon such occasions, they imposed a prohibitory duty on all foreign opium, of 24*s.* per lb. if imported in British bottoms, and of 48*s.* if imported in foreign ones—a duty, in the first case, of four and twenty-fold the prime cost of the article, and in the second, of double that amount!! The effect is as complete a monopoly to the Americans as the Americans could desire.

The next untoward event was the discovery that opium, as an article of free culture, was produced in certain of the provinces ceded to us lately by the Mahrattas. Nothing could exceed the consternation produced by the unhappy discovery, that the new country was of such peculiar fertility—for none but the most fertile will produce the drug. It was found that the free trader gave the cultivator 60*l.* for the same quantity that the Company gave 14*l.* for. The Company resolved upon securing the monopoly, and the consequences are sufficiently amusing and instructive. The cultivators and proprietors of the conquered provinces had swords in their hands, and would not be satisfied to receive 14*l.* for what was in

reality worth 60%. The Company, therefore, commenced a competition with the private merchant, giving larger prices than ever, and in the hopeful project of driving all competitors out of the market, expended in one year (1822-3) between 600,000*l.* and 700,000*l.* sterling\*! Before this undertaking, the whole produce of Malwa, the acquisition in question, was about one thousand chests a year: competition has multiplied it seven-fold in less than five years. We have seen that, in thirty years, the Company, although avowedly desirous, had not, on the monopoly system, been able to raise the quantity in their old provinces by a single chest: this is not all, free competition has not only augmented the quantity, but improved the quality of the Malwa opium. A chest of Malwa opium used to sell in China for 750 dollars only, when Bengal sold for 1000 dollars; it is now in the highest estimation of the two: nay, for that matter, the monopoly system had produced such a deterioration in what used to be the best description of the latter, that by recent accounts it was selling at the rate of 140 dollars per chest less than the Malwa†. This is enough to put monopolies out of fashion. It need hardly be insisted, that the monopoly, on the part of the state, of a staple produce of the soil of any country, is a violation of the sacred

\* They also forced treaties upon the neighbouring petty princes, for the discouragement of growing the poppy, of the same character as those imposed by the Dutch East India Company on the petty chiefs of the Moluccas, in the notorious spice trade.

† Mr. Tucker, of the East India Direction, makes the following eulogy upon the monopoly system: "The confidence of the exporting merchant and foreign consumer was gradually secured, and in the course of a few years a chest of opium, bearing the Company's marks, passed among the Malays and Chinese like a bank note, unexamined and unquestioned." This may be compared with the following recent accounts from China: "The new Patna opium was in very bad repute, being nearly unsaleable, even at the prevailing low rates." —*Indian Newspaper*. "The acknowledged inferiority of the

rights of property, and an obstacle as great, thrown in the way of agricultural improvement, as if that state, having the power, were to curse some of the richest portions of the land with sterility. The export and import trade, carried on by the British dominions through this single article, is six millions sterling. What might it not be, if capital and industry had free and legitimate scope? Even the revenue, which for many years has been at best stationary, or indeed rather declining, might, through a system of fair and moderate taxation, be improved, naturally augmenting in the ratio of augmented trade and culture\*. There is certain ground for supposing that this would be the inevitable result, for the consumption yearly increases every where, but especially in China; and of this, if it were an evil, which it is not, the Company must not complain, for they are already the abettors of this policy, and gain largely by their connivance. When the monopoly was complete, the yearly consumption of the last-named country used to be reckoned at two thousand five hundred chests, valued at about two millions and a half of dollars; and on monopoly principles it was deemed stationary, and fixed for ever. Turkey and Malwa opium having been introduced, it rose, in 1821, to five thousand chests; in 1824, to six thousand five hundred, and in 1826 to upwards of ten thousand, worth about eight millions of dollars!

Salt, as every body knows, is made an object of monopoly by the Indian Government. The salt

opium from the third and fourth Calcutta sales has alarmed the dealers, and has rendered them timid in touching Patna opium at all—not even that to the quality of which there can be no objection.”—*Ibid.*

“The purchasers of the bad opium, at the Calcutta sales, claim compensation, at the rate of from 90*l.* to 100*l.* The government, confessing the inferiority of the opium, allowed from 40*l.* to 50*l.*”—*Opium Correspondence, Calcutta.*

\* Last year, the opium revenue was about 300,000*l.* less than the average of the preceding years.

used by the Indians is of four descriptions: first, there is a little rock salt used, imported from the Persian gulf, and the countries on the western frontier of India. The inhabitants of the northern provinces use salt obtained, by solar evaporation, from certain salt lakes. In Bengal, the salt commonly used is produced by boiling the dirty and slimy brine of the pestiferous marshes at the estuary of the Ganges. The inhabitants of the southern portion of the peninsula use fine bay salt, manufactured on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. The two last only are objects of monopoly; the others, of ordinary but heavy taxation. The Bengal salt is procured by a hasty evaporation, through a miserable process, and costs about 53s. per ton\*. It is computed that about 125,000 labourers are engaged in the manufacture of this commodity, although the whole quantity produced be only 150,000 tons; that is, the labour of  $11\frac{1}{5}$  men from November to June, the whole manufacturing season, is required for the production of a single ton of salt. These labourers are in a virtual state of slavery, every man of them being in debt to the East India Company, inextricably and for life, and not daring to engage in any other employment, by "express law." A considerable number, according to the official returns, are yearly devoured by tigers, and a\* much greater carried off by dysenteries and fevers†. A small quantity of the fine bay salt of Coromandel and Malabar is allowed to be imported into Bengal by special license, and this also is monopolised. The whole population subject to the monopoly, in Bengal, is estimated at thirty millions. The consumption of salt, therefore, for man, beast, and the arts, is at the rate of thirteen pounds per head per annum! The effect of the monopoly is, to keep the produce of salt

\* The sum actually paid to the manufacturer is thirty per cent. less than this. The difference is made up by agency, establishment, warehousing, &c.

† See Appendix.

stationary, while it is admitted that the population, and even the wealth of the country, is increasing. As to the taxation which it produces, it is sometimes as low as 300 per cent., and sometimes as high as 500, for fluctuation and uncertainty are among the other blessings of the system\*.

Let us see the advantages that would accrue from getting rid of this nuisance. The price of salt, obtained by the cheap process of solar evaporation, on the coasts of Coromandel or Malabar, is about 6s. 6d. per ton, or about one-eighth part of the Bengal prices. Superior salt to that of Bengal may now be had at Liverpool for 9s. per ton, or near one-sixth part of the price of Bengal salt. The Malabar salt is excluded from the consumption of Bengal, because the quantity admissible is expressly limited; and because, before quitting the place of manufacture, it is already taxed through the local monopoly there. As to English salt, it is charged with a prohibitory duty of 8l. per ton; that is to say, a duty of between 1600 and 1700 per cent. on the prime cost. This is encouraging free trade with a vengeance! The contingency was not provided for in the charter; but the Local Government of India, in great alarm for its privileges, on the arrival of a cargo or two from Liverpool, hastened for relief to the home authorities, and speedily obtained it in the prohibitory duty just quoted. ¶ \*

In a free trade, with moderate duties, it is pretty certain that either a better and more economical system for the manufacture of Bengal salt must be pursued, or foreign salt must supersede it: the latter will most probably be the case, on account of the great insalubrity and natural unsuitableness of the situations in which it is manufactured. In this case 125,000 labourers, and a population of probably not less than half a million of people, will be emancipated from a real slavery, and their services will be instantly available, where they are

\* See Appendix.

most required, in clearing and cultivating the thinly-peopled, the unhealthy, but the rich and extensive fens which form the estuaries of the great rivers, and which are now nearly in a state of nature. It is unnecessary to say, that cheap salt will be an especial blessing, in a country where the inhabitants, living on an insipid vegetable diet, consider it peculiarly a necessary of life. It will not be rating the increase too high, at eighteen pounds a head per annum, for the present population : it will, in all likelihood, be a great deal more ; for not only will the consumption be, as usual, greatly enhanced by a lower price, but the use of foreign salt will, in this case, extend to countries from which the present supply is excluded by its dearness and badness. This will add above 200,000 tons yearly to the import trade of the Bengal provinces, a greater immediate improvement in our trading and shipping interests than can well be contemplated from any local measure whatever. It is impossible to imagine countries better circumstanced for a commercial intercourse than Bengal and the southern provinces of our dominions, or that naturally stand more in need of each other's assistance. Bengal is a great grain country, without any natural supply of salt except the bad and imperfect one furnished by the muddy estuary of the Ganges. The supply for a territory of full one hundred and fifty thousand square miles, and for thirty millions of people, is drawn from about two hundred miles of a noisome, unhealthy, and almost inaccessible coast. The southern provinces are generally sterile, and subject to frequent dearths and famines ; but from soil and climate they are peculiarly suited for the production of a cheap and ample supply of salt, the very commodity which the former country stands so much in need of. Even under the present restricted system they furnish yearly to Bengal about 26,000 tons. The shipping at present engaged in carrying this salt to Bengal, and grain to

the Coromandel coast, amounting to several hundreds, are almost exclusively native vessels, of such wretched construction and outfit, that they can make but a single voyage a year. In a free trade, England will no doubt supply a great deal of the salt required in the Bengal provinces, and her shipping will, at all events, participate in the coasting trade of India, as connected with this branch of trade. From this slight sketch, to the accuracy of which there are thousands to testify, the reader may judge of the extent of the injury to fair commerce, and the interests, comforts, and happiness of the native inhabitants, which is inflicted by the monopoly, and the exclusion of European commerce and settlement\*. Let him imagine the Legislature of this country confining the manufacture of salt, for the whole consumption of the United Kingdom, to a few miles of damp, rainy, and unhealthy coast, where it would be conducted to the greatest possible disadvantage, and to the exclusion, except in dribbles, of the produce of other portions of the United Kingdom, where it could be produced at a sixth or an eighth part of the cost; let him imagine nearly a total exclusion of foreign salt, required in curing fish and meat; let him imagine a monopoly, by the Government, of the whole consumption of the kingdom, which shall enhance the first cost four, five, six, or seven fold; let him imagine the best portion of the capital, shipping, and enterprise of the country excluded from the trade in salt, and still he will have but a very inadequate and imperfect notion of the injuries inflicted by the Indian salt monopoly.

Every important and valuable article of the production of India has been at one time or another under the seal of monopoly. A modern and rational thinker might almost be tempted to believe that

\* British-born subjects are, by the existing laws, expressly excluded from the salt trade. Now and then an English ship is granted the favour of importing it, at a low freight, for and on account of the monopoly—and this is the only exception.

the real object of European governments, in their East India policy, was to lock up commercial industry; and to do themselves, and every other party concerned, as much injury as possible. Monopolies, under the various pleas of profit, necessity, and expediency, are defended to the last extremity, and never willingly relinquished. The cinnamon trade affords a curious specimen of this. His Majesty's Government, in humble imitation of the Dutch and English East India Companies, still makes a monopoly of the culture of cinnamon. Ceylon is almost the only country in the world which produces cinnamon in great perfection and great cheapness; indeed nearly the only country which produces it at all. Generally speaking, the soil of Ceylon is rather sterile; but for this particular commodity both it and the climate are peculiarly suitable. The best soils for its growth are dry and sandy places, neither fit for the growth of corn nor for ordinary colonial productions. What does the Government, professing all the while its earnest desire to promote the agricultural and commercial prosperity of the country, do in this case? It steps in to stifle, by means which have never failed to do so, the extended culture of the staple produce of the country—of the only production for which the country is remarkable. If his Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, professing to desire the improvement of Poland, should take into his own imperial hands the whole growth of corn in that country, he would not more effectually arrest its wealth and prosperity than does the Government of Ceylon that of the colony, by its monopoly of cinnamon. The Government holds extensive plantations of cinnamon, and prohibits every one else from planting even a tree of it for ornament in their gardens. There is nothing but mischief in this proceeding: cinnamon grows where nothing else will grow: Ceylon is not a grain country: even with the false direction given to its industry and capital by



their exclusion from the culture of cinnamon, it has never grown grain enough for its own consumption\*. The consequences of this system are just as usual: the produce has been stationary for many years, and is unsaleable at prices to remunerate the Government for its mischievous and vexatious proceeding. It has been alleged, that there is no increasing taste in the consumer for cinnamon, but there is not the slightest foundation for such an assertion. The consumer does not choose to pay monopoly prices, and therefore has recourse to substitutes. Of these substitutes, the chief is the inferior commodity of cassia, which within the last few years has been exported from China to Europe and America in immense quantities. The whole quantity of cinnamon produced, in Ceylon, does not appear to exceed 400,000lbs. yearly. In 1825, the Americans, and English free traders, indirectly, exported cassia, from China, to the amount of 1,690,891lbs., or more than four times as much as the whole produce of Ceylon. In 1826, the cinnamon sold in this country, on account of the Government, was only 108,810lbs., and the quantity taken for home consumption was but 13,825lbs. In the same year, the cassia imported was 438,185lbs., and the quantity taken for home consumption very nearly 40,000lbs. The average price of a pound of cassia is 9*d.*, and the duty 1*s.* The price of the worst cinnamon 1*s.* 10*d.*, of the best 6*s.* 9*d.*, and the duty in both cases 2*s.* 6*d.* Of course few, indeed, can afford to buy cinnamon, and cassia is consequently substituted.

Every accessible portion of India has been mate-

\* "That country (Ceylon) might be one of the happiest, as it is one of the loveliest, spots in the universe, if some of the old Dutch laws were done away; among which, in my judgment, the chief are the monopoly of cinnamon, and the compulsory labour of the peasants on the high roads, and in other species of *Corvees*. The Candian provinces, where neither of these exist, seem to be the most prosperous parts of the country."—HEBER's *Journal*, Vol. II.

rially benefited by the influx of British capital, inadequate as it still is. Thus, the whole export and import trade of Calcutta, in the last year of the East India Company's close monopoly, was 6,911,774*l.*, on the average of the first seven years of free trade, every article of export or import having greatly fallen in price; still the trade rose to 11,158,889*l.* Our whole trade in the straits of Malacca, in 1814, was short of a million sterling. At present it considerably exceeds 4,000,000*l.* The trade of Bombay and its dependencies has in like manner sustained a vast increase; so has that of China, although not in our hands. In 1812 (we do not quote the immediately subsequent years, because the American trade was interrupted by war), the whole import trade of the Americans into China amounted to 3,132,810 Spanish dollars. In 1825 it had risen to 7,776,301 Spanish dollars.

These are but a few of the facts which might easily be adduced to invalidate the statements made by the East India Company and their friends, but twelve short years back. Had the legislature, or rather the nation, listened to these predictions, the commerce of the country would at this moment, reckoning only the direct intercourse between Great Britain and India, have been full 5,000,000*l.* per annum less than it actually is. The Indian commerce, in a word, would have been carried on, on the same drowsy principles as for the last two centuries; and it would have been unprofitable to every one concerned in it, except the few who enjoyed the *patronage* which sprung out of its abuses.

It is in vain to expect that either the agriculture or trade to India can ever become of the vastness and importance of which they are both susceptible, until improved and extended by the unlimited and unshackled application of British capital and intelligence. In respect to agriculture especially, the free settlement of Englishmen is loudly called for, as a

measure not only of expediency, but of real necessity. The whole productions of Indian husbandry, that are abandoned to the exclusive management of the natives, through the restraints and penalties of the monopoly, are inferior to the similar productions of every other tropical country; they are not only inferior to the productions of British colonial industry, but to those of French, Dutch, Spanish—even to those of Portuguese industry: they are in every case also inferior to the corresponding productions of Chinese industry\*. To what is this to be ascribed but to the slovenliness and ignorance of a semi-barbarous people? The whole is a mere affair of civilization; and in so far as the Hindus are inferior to Europeans and to Chinese in real skill and intelligence, so must be the productions of their agricultural, their manufacturing, or their any other kind of useful industry.

We shall bring before our readers a few of the commodities in which this inferiority is exemplified: Sugar, cotton, cochineal, rice, ginger, turmeric, madder, tamarinds, tobacco, raw silk, coffee, rum, and arrow root, are all examples. The following comparative table exhibits a few of the results. We give the prices of the highest quality in each case: had we given the average, the comparison would have been still more disadvantageous to the East Indies. Indigo, the sole production of the soil which receives any thing like adequate benefit from European capital and direction, is also the sole exception to the inferiority of Indian productions. What has been effected in this, it is clear enough may be effected in every other commodity, if we do not wilfully and wantonly make positive laws to prevent it.

\* The superiority of the Chinese over the Hindus is evinced in a very exemplary manner in the article of sugar-candy, the only description of refined sugar used in India. This commodity is manufactured nearly throughout all India, but is of so inferior a description, that the European residents are almost wholly supplied from China. The best Chinese sugar-candy is more valuable than the best of that of Bengal by full 28 per cent.



The soil and climate of India must in no respect be charged with the rudeness and imperfection of Indian products. Our own dominions, extending from near the equator to at least the thirtieth degree of North latitude, and from the sixty-third to the ninety-sixth of East longitude, embrace a prodigious diversity of soils and climates, capable of yielding an infinite variety of useful productions, calculated to enrich the country and extend its foreign commerce, and for the improvement or creation of which an infusion of European skill, capital, and enterprise, are alone necessary. It is notorious, that without them the unaided skill of the native Indians is unequal to the production of any commodity where such capital, skill, and enterprise are demanded, so as to give them any chance in a competition with the parallel products of other countries similarly, or even less advantageously gifted. Those acquainted with the details of Indian husbandry and commerce will readily confess that the productions of the country derive every reasonable, or possible advantage from soil, climate, and situation, but none whatever from the skill and industry of the native inhabitants. In short, it may be said that it is only through the peculiar bounty of nature that India is enabled to sustain any trade with Europe at all, and especially with Great Britain. Her exclusive, or nearly exclusive production (if the comparison lie with other colonial possessions) of such articles as tin, borax, saltpetre, silk, lac, black pepper, cardamoms, cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, a variety of useful gums, sago, &c. &c., force her commerce, as it were, upon the nations of Europe, despite the impolitic and very absurd restraints by which it would almost seem that it was the systematic object of European policy to oppress or destroy it; as if the trade of some three hundred millions of people was an evil to be guarded against.

What, but the exclusion of European settlement,

hinders, in our Indian dominions, the extensive culture of the peculiar productions of America, and even of China? The indigenous products of India have been transferred to America, and there, under the direction of European skill, they far surpass in goodness and quantity those of their original country;—witness the sugar-cane, the cotton-plant, coffee, rice, and even indigo, until, in its native country, the production of this last fell into the hands of Europeans. Have the Indians retaliated upon the American colonists? Where is our Indian annatto, our Indian cocoa, our Indian vanilla? Indian cochineal is of about one-sixth part the value of that of Mexico; Indian tobacco is certainly not of one-third the value, in any case, of the produce of Virginia, Maryland, or Cuba. India is in a similar predicament in regard to China: situated close to that country, in daily intercourse with it, receiving yearly into our settlements hundreds, or thousands of emigrants from thence, and possessing the same soils, climates, and physical aspects, as the most favoured of the tea provinces of that empire, not one pound of tea has ever been grown in our Indian possessions. Not one attempt has been made to rear this valuable plant, while such efforts have been frequent in distant and uncongenial European colonies\*. Silk affords another example of the pernicious tendency of our policy: before the manufacture was commenced under the European Government, Indian silk was a rude commodity, wholly unfit for exportation. What is still manufactured by the natives of the country is a very inferior commodity; nay, what is manufactured under the direction

\* “The tea plant grows wild all through Kemaon, but can not be made use of, from an emetic quality which it possesses. This might, perhaps, be removed by cultivation, but the experiment has never been tried. For the cultivation of tea, I should apprehend both the soil, hilly surface, and climate of Kemaon, in all which it resembles the tea provinces of China, extremely favourable.”—*Bishop HEBER*, Vol. I., p. 513.

of the monopoly is considerably inferior to the produce of free industry in China.

It is our business now, to show that the settlement of India by British subjects would not only be useful in a commercial point of view, but that, as a measure of general policy, it is not only safe but expedient—nay, absolutely necessary, toward the security and maintenance of our Indian power.

The following are the arguments which, at various times have been adduced against the policy of European settlement :—

The Hindus are a peculiar and timid race; and if Europeans were permitted to hold lands, they would soon dispossess the native inhabitants.

If Europeans were permitted to settle, their offences against native usages and institutions would disgust the inhabitants of the country, who would rebel, and expel us from India.

If Europeans were to settle in India they would soon colonise the country, and Great Britain would lose her Indian possessions, in the exact same manner in which she lost her American colonies.

If we civilise the Hindus, or, in other words, if we govern them well, they will become enlightened, rebel against us, expel us from the country, and establish a Native Government.

One would expect, from the assertions of the advocates of restriction, that such relations as subsist between the people of India and ourselves had no parallel in the history of the world. There are, however, many cases exactly similar in every essential point, and we shall advert to a few of them. The Mahomedans of Persia and Tartary kept these same Hindus in subjection for full seven centuries. They were rude, they were intolerant, they persecuted for conscience sake. They were, at first at least, necessarily ignorant of the language, manners, and habits of the aboriginal inhabitants; and when they became acquainted with them, it was only to

treat them with derision or contempt. They altered the whole laws of the kingdom: they imposed Mahomedan institutions, and a Mahomedan language. Yet, with all this, there were few insurrections against their authority; and in the above long period of seven centuries not one successful case of rebellion. One race of Mahomedans and one dynasty succeeded to another race and another dynasty, in the dominion of India. The patient and docile Hindus quietly looked on and paid their homage and their taxes to each successive conqueror. In a word, they submitted to braver and more civilised races than themselves, which was in the natural order of things. The Mahomedans were not prohibited from occupying the soil. They, in fact, became possessed of extensive estates in land throughout the country, but the Hindus were not, in consequence, dispossessed. The Moslems constitute at present, through emigration or conversion, full one-seventh part of the whole population; that is, they amount to perhaps fifteen millions of settlers. Still the Hindus held, after so many centuries of rude dominion, by far the larger portion of the land, down to the moment when we ourselves became possessed of the sovereignty of the country. This is rather a strong case. It may be rationally asked, will one of the most civilised and humane of the nations of Europe, in a civilised age, act a worse, or a weaker part than the semibarbarians of Persia and Tartary, in a very barbarous one?

Will any one be so irrational as to argue, or any one credulous enough to believe, that the policy on which these semi-barbarians acted—not only with safety but with utility—nay, upon which their very existence depended, may not be pursued, at least with impunity, by the European administration of India, backed by the resources of a civilised, powerful, enterprising, brave, and ambitious nation? Are we, through clumsy misrepresentation, and a fictitious picture of national manners, incompatible with history and human



nature, to be cheated out of our common sense, into a belief that the very circumstances which enabled our predecessors to make and maintain conquests, are to cause the destruction of ours? These predecessors acquired dominion, and kept it for whole centuries, through mere fortuitous emigration and settlement, and without any external support. We, on the contrary, have the systematic support of a powerful and willing nation. Yet, in the very same spot, the dominion of one set of conquerors is to be overthrown by the exact same means by which that of another was created and maintained. We beg our easy, good-natured, but idle countrymen, in judging of this very plain matter, to bring to their aid a small portion of that common sense which they are so fond of having ascribed to them on ordinary occasions, and not suffer themselves to be deluded into a belief that what may be dangerous to a monopoly of patronage, is equally so to the interests of the State!

Other examples, however, may be given, of dominion maintained by foreign conquerors for a succession of ages without revolt, rebellion, or expulsion of the conquerors, there being neither prohibition to the conquerors to own land or colonise in any other manner whatsoever. One of the most remarkable of these, is the dominion exercised by the present race of Tartars over the vast empire of China, containing double the area, and near twice the population of our East Indian dominions. If the circumstances of this dominion be considered, it will be found a much more wonderful event than even the establishment of our own extraordinary empire. A mere tribe of shepherds, having nothing but their good swords to rely upon, effected the conquest of the greatest and most civilised Empire in the East, in a far shorter time than was taken in the formation of our Eastern dominion, and they have kept peaceable possession for 167 years. They govern that empire apparently without any extraordinary difficulty, and with as few insurrections

as can well be expected in an over-peopled country. They go a little farther than we do; maintaining the military power, they surrender the civil into the hands of the native inhabitants: we are not quite so generous; we seize the whole military and the whole civil power, to the entire exclusion of the conquered: we take the most effectual means to exclude capital from the country, as well as to withhold from the Hindus the example of morals, industry, arts, and science: and we end, by pronouncing such a form of administration the most acceptable, popular, and appropriate which human wisdom could devise for the government of eighty or ninety millions of people, fifteen thousand miles distant from the power that essentially rules them. What figure would the conquerors of China have made in maintaining their dominion, had they contented themselves with sending an army of some forty thousand men, with a few civil functionaries from the wilds of Tartary, to the rigid exclusion of the settlement and colonisation of the rest of their countrymen? The Chinese, united and intelligent far beyond the inhabitants of Hindustan, would not have endured the experiment; and, fortunately for the Manchou Tartars, they had no East India Company to persuade them into such a blunder.

Our own country affords remarkable examples of a peaceful submission to foreign conquerors. The Romans (the relative states of society in the world being considered) were, when they conquered Britain, substantially as distant from it as we are now from India; yet they subjected the ancient Britons—a people more brave, more untractable, more untameable than the Hindus—occupying a country less accessible to invasion and conquest; and, imposing upon them their language, laws, and institutions, held them in peaceful subjection for between three and four centuries. There was no prohibition to Roman subjects to settle, to colonise, or, in a word, to improve the

natives by their capital, their industry, or their example. The stability of the Roman dominion appears to have been confirmed by a policy the very reverse of this. Hume, speaking of Agricola, the ablest and the wisest of the conquerors of Britain, eulogises him in the following strain, for doing that which a company of merchants imagine must ruin us:—"He introduced law and civility among the Britons, taught them to desire and raise all the conveniences of life, reconciled them to the Roman language and manners, instructed them in letters and science, and employed every expedient to render those chains which he had forged both easy and agreeable to them. The inhabitants, having experienced how unequal their own force was to resist that of the Romans, acquiesced in the dominion of their masters, and were gradually incorporated in that mighty empire." They were succeeded by the Saxons, a rude and ferocious people, who were equally successful in maintaining their authority. The Saxons were succeeded by the Danes, and these by the Normans. The ancient Britons *never* regained their independence. In fact, where shall we find, in the page of history, one example of a rude people, permanently conquered by a brave and more civilised race than themselves, regaining their liberty and independence, and expelling their conquerors? Another race of foreign conquerors may supplant us in India; but we have nothing whatever to fear from its native inhabitants.

The people of the East are and have, in all ages, been more passive and pusillanimous than the people of the West. The dark-coloured races are more passive than any of the fairer races of men. The Roman dominion over the more manly and freer nations of the West scarcely lasted six hundred years; over the timid and subservient nations of the East it lasted one thousand years longer: such a prospect as this ought to satisfy our thirst for oriental dominion.

Let us approach, however, a little nearer to the examination of the assertion, that if the free settlement of Englishmen were permitted, they would dispossess the natives of their lands, and thus reduce them to the condition of helots. The only spots within our immense dominions, in which Englishmen are permitted to hold lands, are the towns of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Prince of Wales's Island, Singapore, and Malacca. There they hold lands, generally on the same conditions and under the same laws with the natives. These are the only spots in which English capital can be invested in the soil; whereas native capital has the range of 600,000 square miles. It might be expected, then, that under these circumstances Europeans would be the holders of the greater portion of the landed property in such settlements: the very reverse is the case. The Indians are the holders of all the native buildings in Calcutta, of all the public markets, and of the majority of the houses built by or for Europeans. This is still more remarkably the case at Madras. At Bombay, the greater portion of the landed property of the island is owned by the Persees. At Prince of Wales's Island, Malacca, and Singapore, the Chinese, and natives of Malabar, share at least equally with Europeans in the property of the soil. If any one be ousted in these cases, it is not the natives, but the Europeans. There is no one ousted, however, nor will there be, where laws are duly administered, and where industry, enterprise, and capital, are suffered to follow their natural and beneficial direction.

If, say the friends of restriction, Europeans were permitted to settle and hold lands in India, the conduct of the settlers would disgust the natives: this would produce rebellion, and we should inevitably be turned out of the country. This proposition is a direct contradiction of the last, and therefore would prove too much. In the first case, the Hindus are represented as so timid and obsequious, that they

will submit to be turned out of their possessions without resistance; in the last, they are supposed to be so sensitive, so irascible, so pugnacious, so formidable, that they will brook no insult: they will rise in rebellion if the first settlers do not understand their languages and peculiar usages, and kick us out of the peninsula for sheer ignorance. Both assertions imply a flagrant misunderstanding of the character of the Hindus, and of their well-known history for many centuries. The Hindus are a prudent, a discreet, a money-making race: they will endure a great deal for money's sake; they will oppose violence by an appeal to law, if they have laws to appeal to; and if they have not, no European will be a match for them with the weapons of fraud and chicanery, which they wield most dexterously. There will, in short, be more need to protect Europeans against them, than them against Europeans. This has, in fact, been found to be more or less the case wherever the two races have come into collision or competition, without adequate laws for the protection of person and property,—an occurrence too frequent.

But in reality, the limited experiments which have been made show that, in whatever part of India a few Europeans have established themselves, their presence has been productive of unmingled good. In the single article of indigo, their skill has created a property to the yearly value of two millions sterling, an effectual addition to the real wealth and resources of this country greater than it can rationally be proved the East India Company has produced in two whole centuries. The introduction of the indigo culture into a district is notoriously the precursor of order, tranquillity, and satisfaction: wealth is diffused through it; and the public burthens, levied before with difficulty, and often only with the aid of a military force, are punctually discharged. Even the advocates of the system of restriction are obliged to confess this beneficial result.

We have not time for much quotation, and therefore we shall content ourselves with one strong case. Mr. St. George Tucker, a Director of the East India Company, formerly a Commissioner of Land Revenue in Bengal, and principal Secretary in the same department, tells us, in nearly as many words, when describing the inequality of assessment to the land tax, that in a particular estate the introduction of the cultivation of indigo alone will be sufficient "to double the value of the produce." A country, of which the produce of the soil is doubled by the introduction of one single article of cultivation and manufacture, cannot, it ought rationally to be supposed, be much injured in any other way by those who confer this boon upon it.

Danger to the stability of our Indian empire was one of the points most perseveringly laboured by the East India Company in the discussions which led to the renewal of their last charter. It was one of the leading questions which their counsel put to the cloud of witnesses which they brought to the bar of the House of Commons—the same witnesses who confidently predicted the total impossibility of extending free trade. The answers were always prompt, and the assertion broad and unqualified—that there was the utmost danger to be apprehended from the settlement of Englishmen. When challenged to adduce examples, not one capable of bearing examination could be brought forward by these willing witnesses. One of the most intelligent of them adduced the case of an European sutler as one in point. He, the witness, had, in the exercise of his public duty, given the said sutler permission to live in the unoccupied house of an absent native: the native returned, and the sutler refused to quit the house at his requisition, and without the specific authority of the person from whom he derived his permission, which appeared reasonable enough. It turned out that the sutler in question, however heinous his

offence, was not a British-born subject, but a Dane—one, in short, of the most orderly creatures of the European race. “Had he been an Englishman,” continued the witness in his evidence, “he would most probably have kicked out the owner, for presuming to molest an Englishman in his castle, and it would have required a suit at law to eject him!” Here was evidence on which to legislate for an empire!

Another witness, an officer of high rank, and of some forty years’ experience, having been challenged to produce an example of the evil consequences of the settlement of Europeans in India, upon which he had expatiated in general terms, adduced the case of two Europeans who lost their lives for having offended the prejudices of certain Brahmins by shooting a monkey. The Brahmins pelted them with stones. To effect their escape they made an attempt to swim the Jumna on horseback, and in that attempt were drowned. Here it turned out that the offenders were not merchants, or agriculturalists, but servants of the East India Company, a couple of cornets of dragoons. The reader may imagine that a people who take violent umbrage at so venial a peccadillo as the shooting of a monkey must be rather hard to deal with: the case, therefore, deserves some explanation. He is informed, then, that the martyred monkey in question was not a wild monkey (“*feræ naturæ*, or of a wild and untameable disposition”), as his untravelled fancy might suppose, but a pet monkey—one of a herd of pet monkeys belonging to certain learned Brahmins at the celebrated seminary of Mattura, and daily fed from the hands of these clerical worthies. Now, supposing an Irish Catholic were wantonly to shoot a pet monkey, or pet parrot, or pet any thing else belonging to a set of Oxford professors, is it not probable, especially if there existed no other means of redress, that the dignitaries and fellows of the university might be tempted to pelt the recreant Hiber-

nian with brick-bats, or duck him in a horse-pond? They might even be misled into a belief that, in so doing, they were serving the cause of religion and the church. If the Irishman in question, endeavouring to escape from such punishment, attempted to swim across the Isis and was drowned, would it not be most inconsequent and irrational to insist that the English nation, and especially their men of learning and their clergy, were so irritable, peculiar, and capricious, that no Irishman, except perhaps a few men in office, or at best a few select Orangemen, could safely settle among them: yet this is a pretty fair representation of the argument to be drawn from the case just quoted.

The prejudices of the Hindus on this particular point have been mightily exaggerated. It is true, they believe that the soul of a drunken grandsire may be embodied in a hog; of a wise one, in that of an elephant; or of a pious one, in that of a bull. They do believe in such fooleries, and various others; and have, consequently, a kind of disinclination, but not a very violent repugnance, to be accessory to the death of such possible progenitors; but this is all, and they certainly do not, as some have supposed, actually worship any description of animals. It is notorious, that cattle, and all other animals, are slaughtered in thousands, in all the principal towns, long resorted to by strangers; the Hindus not only not taking offence, but often, as owners of markets, as merchants and shopkeepers, deriving emolument from such proceeding\*.

\* "I had always heard, and fully believed till I came to India, that it was a grievous crime, in the opinion of the Brahmins, to eat the flesh or shed the blood of any living creature whatever. I have now, myself, seen Brahmins, of the highest caste, cut off the heads of goats as a sacrifice to Doorga; and I know, from the testimony of Brahmins, as well as from other sources, that not only hecatombs of animals are often offered in this manner as a most meritorious act (a Raja, about twenty-five



The belief of animal worship, however, on the part of the Hindus, was at one time at least pretty current among Europeans. We remember hearing rather a curious example of this, in as far as regarded an alleged worship of peacocks. A British officer, at the head of a detachment, entered the Mahratta frontier, and laudably resolving to respect the prejudices of the natives on this head, gave the following sample of his acquaintance with Hindoo mythology in an order of the day:—"Peacocks being the gods of this country, no one to presume to shoot them on any account whatsoever." Now, the real history of this supposed peacock-worship was as follows:—"There are few or no wild peacocks in the upper parts of India, but a great many domestic ones, the common property of the villages, roosting on the tops of the houses, nesting in the neighbouring groves, and feeding in the corn-fields belonging to the peasantry. In short, they are pretty much in the same state, but a good deal tamer, than the pheasants of a preserve in this country. The above good-natured officer was right in his conduct, but wrong in the motive. A French general invading this country, and desirous of conciliating a very influential and respectable class of its inhabitants, might just as reasonably have issued such an order as this to his army:—"Pheasants and partridges being the gods of the country gentlemen of England, no one to shoot them on any pretence whatsoever."

The two cases above alluded to are the only examples of the evil consequences of settlement and colonisation which were brought forward by the East India Company during a discussion of three

years back, offered sixty thousand in one fortnight), but that any person, Brahmins not excepted, eats readily of the flesh of whatever has been offered up to one of their divinities, while among almost all the other castes, mutton, pork, venison, fish, any thing but beef and fowls, are consumed as readily as in Europe."—*HEBER's Journal*, Vol. II., p. 379.

years' continuance. In reference to them, Mr. Courtenay, the then and present Secretary to the Board of Controul, stated, in his place in Parliament, that the examples adduced amounted to such twaddle as could not be listened to with common patience. Even the late Lord Londonderry became for a moment a kind of philosopher, and even a political economist, declaring that the apprehension of colonisation in India was purely "chimerical\*."

Who, it may be asked, are most likely to offend the prejudices of the natives of India? the flights of raw aspirants for place and power poured annually by the East India Company into India; persons vested with the name or authority of Government; or merchants and traders, who have no connection whatever with it, and whose success, safety, and comfort, depend upon prudence, forbearance, and conciliation? We pronounce, from long experience, that for one trader that violates the prejudices or usages of the natives, there will be found twenty civil and military *employés* who will do so; but by whatever party such offences are given, they are but trivial, and of very little moment. As the number of settlers and colonists increase the number of such offences must diminish, because information on both sides will have improved. After the first few months—even in the most desperate cases, after the first few years—no European offends native prejudices, nor do the natives offend his: a very limited period indeed is sufficient to reconcile them to each other. If this be the case with the original settlers, where is to be the danger from their posterity, born and bred in the country?

Those portions of our dominions in India in

\* "As to the idea of colonisation in India, it seemed quite chimerical, as the price of labour was so low as to leave no inducement to the hard-working classes of the community to go there."—*Extract from LORD CASTLEREAGH's Speech in the House of Commons, March 22, 1813.*

which the greatest number of European settlers exist, are invariably found to be the most orderly, tranquil, wealthy, and prosperous. Those in which they are carefully excluded are not only the poorest, but the most subject to insurrection. The acts of the Government and their servants have occasioned a good many tumults, a good many insurrections, and a good many military mutinies, but the advocates of restriction have never ventured to assert that a merchant or trader has been implicated in any act of public disorder. The mutiny and massacre at Vellore were produced by the impertinent and ill-judged interference of the public officers of Government with the dress and pay of the troops. The tumult at Benares was produced by an attempt to impose an unpopular tax\*. The more serious insurrection in Rohilcund was produced by the same cause. The mutiny of the native troops at Barrackpore, and the massacre which followed it, were notoriously occasioned by the Government or its officers refusing to listen to some palpable, and afterwards acknowledged and redressed, grievances. No private individual, black or white, had any share in the transaction. The general rising of the province of Cuttack, which took the Calcutta authorities by surprise, was produced by the misconduct of a public officer. There was not a merchant or trader in this extensive but poor province at whose door the blame might be laid. One example, on the great scale, may be added: the arbitrary and unjust conduct of Warren Hastings, and the violence which he offered to native prejudices, threw the great and populous province of Benares into a state of general insurrection, which nothing could quell but a large army. This was the much-admired Governor of the East India Company; a man of undoubted talent, versed in the languages, manners, and institutions of the natives of India, and who was brought up in 1813, before the House of Commons,

\* See Appendix.

to give evidence touching the impossibility of extending the commercial intercourse of Great Britain with India, the danger of violating native usages, the excellence of the existing order of things, and other matters equally true and edifying. Now, had the said Warren Hastings been a merchant, or an indigo planter, in all human probability he would not have touched a hair of the Rajah Cheit Singh's head; certainly he would not have wantonly arrested his person, and, by this flagrant insult to the prejudices of his subjects, brought on a formidable insurrection. To be guilty of such indiscretion, it was necessary to be duly clothed with authority!

In the discussions of 1813, the East India Company was not satisfied with a mere denunciation of the general principle of the free settlement of Englishmen in India: they declared that the bare circumstance of a partial opening of the trade would produce such an inundation of true-born Englishmen as would sap the foundation, and, finally, overthrow the whole fabric of our Indian empire. The experience of the last thirteen years has not verified this ominous prognostication. The whole number of European settlers in Bengal unconnected with the public service is about two thousand seven hundred; and this, let it be observed, includes foreigners as well as British-born subjects: in 1813 it was one thousand six hundred. At the other Presidencies, the whole accession certainly has not amounted to two hundred persons. The inundation, therefore, which was immediately to sap the foundations, and then to overthrow the vast fabric of our empire, has amounted in thirteen years only to about one thousand three hundred persons, all employed in the peaceable pursuits of industry, without an hour's leisure for politics or squabbling!

The advocates of restriction have urged that free settlement will give rise to a dangerous influx of needy and profligate adventurers. How are needy

and profligate adventurers to pay for a passage across half the globe? Do needy and profligate adventurers undertake a voyage of similar expense to New South Wales, where room and climate are more suitable? Needy and profligate adventurers go to the latter country with the assistance of the State: they could only find their way to India with similar assistance, which it is to be hoped the State will never grant. In fact, the existing restrictions are answerable for any disproportion of exceptionable persons which may now exist in the European population of India; and, after all, the number is very trifling\*. Men of character in general are unwilling to infringe the ~~existing~~ laws, bad as they are; men of indifferent character infringe them without scruple; and the worst class of Europeans in India are in fact runaways from the East India Company's own ships, notorious among British shipping for the badness of their crews,—men that but for this channel could never find their way to India at all, or who, if they did, would, in a free intercourse, constitute but a trifling fraction of the whole. In reality, from the very nature of things, the free adventurers to India would of necessity be composed of the most respectable emigrants that ever quitted one shore for

\* “The English part of the population (of all India) is perhaps *as respectable a community as any in the universe*, but they are not a body of men that an Englishman would designate as a public. The great majority are civil and military servants, of whom a very considerable proportion hold their offices at the pleasure of the Local Government under which they serve; and the other parts of the community, composed of merchants, free traders, missionaries, editors of newspapers, shopkeepers, and artisans, have *purchased the privilege* of residing in India, by voluntarily submitting themselves to regulations and restrictions, one of which authorises the Local Government, under whose protection they reside, to send them to England, by an arbitrary act of power, without even the form of trial:—need more be said, to establish the dissimilarity between such a community and a British public?” —*Memorandum by SIR J. MALCOLM, respecting the free press of India.*

that of another. The length of the voyage—the state of society in India—the character of the climate, would inevitably preclude the resort of such emigrants as were not possessed of what India stands so egregiously in need of—capital—talent—acquirement—integrity, and enterprise.

The third argument of the East India Company and its abettors is, that if Europeans be allowed to colonise, Great Britain will lose her Indian possessions, in the same manner in which she lost her American colonies. This most chimerical and absurd position hardly deserves an inquiry or an answer; but in case there should be any one, unknown to us, silly enough to give it credence, we shall condescend to the trouble of refuting it. The first point which must occur to every rational person is, that there is not one point of similitude in the pretended parallel between India and America. Colonisation in India, in the strict meaning of the term, is impossible, without the extermination, or the very next thing to it, of about one hundred millions of human beings: we might as reasonably talk of colonising Ireland!

America, when colonised, was destitute of inhabitants, or very nearly so. The British territories in India are peopled throughout to the extent of one hundred and twelve inhabitants to a square mile, and the wages of common labour are about 3*l.* per annum. America, when ripe for independence, was peopled by one race of free men, having the same institutions, manners, religion, language, and interests: in India there are at least thirty tribes or nations, speaking as many distinct languages. There are several forms of religion, and these again are broken down into sects and castes, the followers of which are full of antipathies towards each other. The Indian nations, unknown to each other, destitute even of a common medium of communication, have no common interests, and therefore no common feeling of

national independence\*. The notion, then, of their conspiring or combining, to rid themselves of the dominion of strangers, is purely chimerical. Who, in fact, in this vast heterogenous mass, are to be deemed the strangers? The Mahrattas are as much strangers to the people of Bengal, or to those of the Carnatic, as we are, and without doubt would be much more unwelcome ones. The Seiks are strangers to the Mahrattas, and either would submit to the other's barbarous rule far more unwillingly than to ours. Some fifteen millions of Mahomedans, differing from each other in nation, in sect, and often in language, are opposed to a Hindu population of some eighty-five millions. Where are the materials for unanimity of purpose, for conspiracy or combination, in this most discordant population?

The Americans, when ripe for independence, were a free, bold, manly, energetic, and highly-civilised people. The Indians know not what freedom is: they are, for the most part, a timid, often an effeminate, and, as a nation, a feeble race of semi-barbarians. In every circumstance, in short, in which it can be possible to institute a comparison, the Indians and Anglo-Americans are the very antipodes of each other. The states of society in the two countries are, without exaggeration, more dissimilar than those of China and Lapland. We

\* "This part of their character, but in a ruder and wilder form, and debased by much alloy of treachery and violence, is conspicuous in the smaller and less good-looking inhabitants of Rajpootana and Malwa; while the mountains and woods, wherever they occur, show specimens of a race entirely different from all these, and, in a state of society, scarcely elevated above the savages of New Holland or New Zealand; and the inhabitants, I am assured, of the Deccan, and of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, are as different from those which I have seen, and from each other, as the French and Portuguese from the Greeks, Germans, or Poles; so idle is it to ascribe uniformity of character to the inhabitants of a country so extensive, and subdivided by so many almost impassable mountains and jungles."—HEBER'S *Journal*, Vol. II., p. 380.

and others conquered the Hindus because they were feeble and disunited. 'They are now, and always have been, readily retained in subjection, for the same reason that they were easily conquered.

The colonisation of India, as may be seen from this statement, is impracticable; but, although there may be no room for colonisation, there is ample room for settlement, in a country of fertile soil, far more thinly peopled, after all, than any part of Europe, and a country without capital, knowledge, morals, or enterprise. Mere labourers of course there is, generally speaking, no room for; but there is ample room for skilful mechanics, for agricultural, for commercial, and even for manufacturing capitalists. The free settlement of all these classes, under equal and suitable laws, will prove the only means of civilising and humanising the inhabitants of India. Our countrymen, living amongst them, will instruct them in arts, in science, and in morals; the wealth and resources of the country will be improved; the Hindus will rise in the scale of civilisation, for they have sufficiently evinced that they possess both the capacity and inclination to do so. We leave it to the abettors of restriction to point out what evils are to spring from such changes.

We have said that, generally, there is no room for colonisation in India—at least for European colonisation. There are some exceptions to this rule: India, taking it as a whole, is not a densely but a thinly peopled country; one hundred and twelve inhabitants to the square mile is not such a population as a territory of such general fertility ought and might maintain. The fact is, that many parts of India are overpeopled, others very thinly peopled, and some, indeed, almost destitute of inhabitants. Some fertile tracts in the alluvial plain of the Ganges contain four hundred, five hundred, and even six hundred inhabitants to the square mile, while the table lands are thinly peopled, and the mountains



often destitute of inhabitants. Many of the rich valleys of the great snowy range for example, would, for room, temperature, and salubrity, admit of the settlement of European colonies. As the climate is remarkable for its salubrity, European colonisation is here gradually admissible ; we say gradually, because, from distance and expense, there is, obviously, no other means of introducing it. Even in some of the warmer parts of India, colonisation is probably not altogether impracticable. The first settlers in such situations would naturally consist of capitalists, and the better order of mechanics ; who, from their habits, would suffer little inconvenience from the climate. Their posterity, even if they descended to the rank of day-labourers, would be acclimated, and, like the Spaniards of the pure blood in the torrid plains of America, suffer no inconvenience from heat, but in this respect be on a perfect equality with the aboriginal inhabitants\*.

The only thing like colonisation which we see passing before our eyes in the East is that of the Chinese, in the thinly peopled countries in the neighbourhood of their own. There are about one hundred thousand of them in the Dutch, Spanish, and British possessions ; and perhaps little fewer than a million in Siam and other adjacent countries. This, however, is a very unfavourable experiment ; for, by the laws of China, the men cannot be accompanied by their families. Had not the emigration of women been forbidden, we should by this time probably have seen the half-desert countries in question peopled from the swarming inhabitants of that empire. Unfavourable as are the circumstances under which this Chinese emigration takes place, it

\* Our own West India islands, notwithstanding their heat, the general insalubrity of their climate, and the discouragement to colonisation offered by slave labour, contain between sixty and seventy thousand colonists of the European race, the greater number of whom are Creoles.

is instructive to remark, that to it we owe more than half the prosperity of all the countries in which it has taken place—such is the efficacy of a little infusion of civilisation in semi-barbarous communities. In the countries in question, the Chinese colonists generally carry on their whole foreign trade. They mine and smelt their metals, and they manufacture their whole sugar. In short, the most prominent branches of their industry would have no existence but for these useful auxiliaries.

With the fullest and freest liberty to settle, the European colonists in India will still constitute a prodigious minority. To imagine their revolt, therefore, is nothing less than ridiculous. It is, really, more absurd than we have time or patience to represent it. Their security for centuries—as long as they continue a distinct race—as long as their faces remain white, and they speak the English language—must depend upon the mother country. Instead of endangering our dominion, therefore, they will become its natural and, through their knowledge and influence, its best and firmest supports. The very charge of danger alleged against their free settlement may, with infinite truth and justice, be urged against the system of restricting it. The Hindus, instead of being a people difficult of management, are, in reality, of all the conquered people that ever existed, the most easy. Had they been otherwise, the barbarians of Persia and Tartary could not have held them in subjection for seven centuries, nor could the commercial and exclusive Government of the East India Company have lasted for a single day. The administration of the East India Company is, in itself, a proof with how little Government—with how imperfect a Government, the Hindus may be kept in subjection. The administration of India, as it is now constituted, disclaims all support derived from the influence or public opinion of Englishmen. It creates in its own hands enormous and pernicious monopolies; it refuses to grant, or is incapable of bestowing, an adequate

administration of justice ; it denies to the people all share in their own Government ; it places all power in the hands of a small party, or faction, of its own countrymen ; it rules the country by an army of about 280,000 men, chiefly levied from a disfranchised and insulted population ; and, finally, the spirit and tendency of its constitution is, to leave to the precarious guardianship of about thirty thousand Europeans, the sovereignty or dominion over an empire of one hundred millions of people. This is a real trial of the docility of the Hindus ; such a trial of men's temper and forbearance as was never made before, in any age or climate : a scheme, the object of which must appear, to any rational and impartial observer, as little better than an experiment to ascertain the extent of the danger and jeopardy to which a people, in the wantonness of selfishness and error, may hazard a vast and costly acquisition.

Among the dangers which have been conjured up to alarm us for the stability of our Indian dominion, is the increase of the mixed race. A very few words will suffice for the refutation of this allegation. The greater number of the half-castes, or, as they have been recently called, Eurasians, are to be found in the Bengal provinces. Now the number of grown males of this description here is just 215, and even among these there are included several of the most respectable of the class called Portuguese native christians. The genuine half-castes throughout India, men, women, and children, we are convinced, will be overrated at one thousand. This is the formidable body that is to wrest the dominion of eighty-three millions of people from us.

So much for the genuine half-castes, or immediate descendants of an European parent with a native one. In Calcutta the whole descendants of Europeans of every nation, including the nearest and remotest degrees, do not exceed five thousand persons. For all British India, they would certainly be overrated

at three times this number : the natives converted to Christianity are numerous in the southern parts of the peninsula, but are docile even beyond the Hindus themselves.

The restrictions of the East India Company have given rise, in a great measure, to the class of Eurasians. Among the British in India there is a most extraordinary inequality among the sexes. The women are certainly not in the proportion of one to twenty of the opposite sex, and hence the men form connexions with the women of the country. Yet the number of the half-castes, small as it is, is either stationary or decreasing; the females generally intermarry with Europeans, and the offspring of this connexion is no longer reckoned in the class. The men, especially those of the lower orders, intermarry or form connexion with native women, and the offspring is frequently lost in the native christian population. The number of half-castes has also decreased of late years, owing to the more frequent resort of European females to India than heretofore. There is a natural repugnance in the races of different colours to intermix; or at least there is a decided repugnance on the fairer side. This is a principle, whatever may be the consequences which, in all likelihood, must always preserve the different races inhabiting India in a great measure distinct. The prejudice of caste, with difference of language and lineage, will tend to a similar effect.

It is singular, indeed, to remark how completely these distinctions are kept up. The Persees, or worshippers of fire, fair and handsome amidst the squat and sooty population of Bombay and Surat, are as unmixed as the day they came from Persia; the Patans and Mogul Mahomedans are unmixed; the higher ranks of Hindus are unmixed; the different nations of Hindus never intermarry, and are perfectly distinct; it is only among the very lowest classes that there is much intermixture: all this, no

doubt, throws a difficulty in the way of establishing a good administration ; it will prove a complete obstacle, for ages, to the establishment of any thing like a National Government ; but in proportion as it does so, it is a security for the domination of the most intelligent, civilised, and therefore powerful class.

However little danger, present or future, we have to apprehend from the Eurasians, it is our duty to treat them with fairness and justice. At present they are rigidly excluded from all offices *of trust*, civil or military. From civil offices, indeed, their exclusion is complete, and their highest promotion in the military service is the dignity of a serjeant or drum-major. Their exclusion from trust in the country of their birth is unjust, ungenerous, and impolitic. They cannot, indeed, overthrow our dominion, however we may maltreat them, but the presence of a mass of discontented persons, as they must necessarily be, cannot but contribute more or less to its insecurity.

The natives converted to christianity are still more harshly treated than the immediate descendants of Europeans. Under a Christian Government they are seldom or ever employed in any part of India, and under the Madras Government are expressly excluded "by law" from such humble employments as other natives are eligible to hold !

From the confidence with which the arguments against European settlement in India have been urged, one might be almost tempted to believe that experience was all on the side of the advocates of restriction ; yet it will be found that this pretended experience is nothing better than an idle and interested hypothesis, the real experience being all on the other side : a few examples may be adduced. The free settlement of Europeans has been acted upon in the Philippine Islands for about four centuries, among a far less hospitable race than the Hindus. It is not enough to say, in this case, that the practice has been safe only ; the Spanish

dominion could neither have been established or maintained without it; the European settlers not only preserve the country from insurrection, but protect it from foreign aggression. It is their union and amalgamation with the natives of the country which has preserved the dominion of the Philippines to Spain, even in her present state of colonial weakness.

In the larger portion of the great island of Java, European settlement has been tolerated for about two centuries, and Dutch colonists hold great and extensive landed possessions. This is just the part of the island where there has never been any insurrection. On the other hand, insurrections and formidable rebellions have been frequent in those portions of the country where European colonisation has been forbidden by law; nay, more, it is matter of notoriety, that the arbitrary expulsion of European settlers holding leases of land from which the native proprietors were deriving signal advantage in that interdicted portion, was one great cause of the present ruinous war in the island.

The same principle has been acted on in Ceylon, with its Hindu, its Mahomedan, and its Cingalese population. When we received over the Government from the Dutch, eight out of the twelve members of the council of Government were colonial landholders, men bred and born in the country. No sooner did the administration fall into the hands of the East India Company, than the danger of colonisation was again conjured up, and the usual prohibition duly enacted. His Majesty's Government, in humble imitation, continued it for a short period, but, seemingly ashamed of such a piece of folly, took off this prohibition in 1810, and still more completely in 1812, as will be seen by the public proclamations in the Appendix. Some years after this, a formidable insurrection took place in the Candian provinces, where there were no European colonists; if there

had, most probably there would have been no insurrection ; or, at all events, that insurrection would not have come upon the Government as it did, surprised and unprepared.

The fourth assertion of the abettors of restriction is—that if we civilise the Hindus, they will become enlightened, expel us the country, and establish a Native Government. This apprehension is rather Turkish, but we must reply to it. If the Hindus are to be arrested in their progress to civilisation, and kept for ever in their present state of superstition, feebleness, and debasement, the existing form of Government will no doubt answer the purpose well enough: But it is our duty to improve the Hindus, let the consequences be what they may. We are of opinion that these consequences will be auspicious, and tend to increase the mass of human happiness, as well as to strengthen and confirm our dominion. It never occurred to us to improve the condition of the Hindus until 1813, although we had then exercised dominion over them for more than half a century. What we then did was but small, and did not originate with the rulers of the country, but with private individuals. Out of a revenue of sixteen millions sterling, the East India Company set aside ten thousand pounds a year, as the statute, facetiously we suppose, expresses it, “for the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences.” Our Indian subjects at the time were reckoned fifty millions in number. The sum allotted, then, by the bounty of the State for the encouragement of literature, ancient and modern, the encouragement of men of learning, and the promotion of science, out of a revenue of sixteen millions, was at the moderate rate of the tithe of a farthing per head !!

It was not until eight years thereafter, however,

that a single step was taken to appropriate even this paltry sum to its destination: the Local Government appears to have been shamed into doing something about the year 1821, in consequence of the extraordinary progress made by the christian missionaries, and other pious and benevolent individuals. A few years earlier the Government not only did not encourage useful education, but even made efforts to put it down. The Serampore missionaries, whose labours have been since acknowledged to have proved so useful and so safe, were obliged, in order to escape banishment, to fly for protection to a foreign settlement, where they still continue to flourish. \*The British Government even went the length of demanding the surrender of their persons, but the Foreign Governor had the sense, humanity, and firmness to decline compliance. (.)

The Indian Government, while it seemed to have proscribed European education, had from an early period given a certain encouragement to Asiatic literature. There has, for example, been long a Mahomedan and a Hindu college at Calcutta, in which the Arabic and Sanscrit languages are taught, together with what is most absurdly termed philosophy. The laws of the Mahomedans, the most intolerant bigots of all Asia, are administered in our courts of justice. Persian, the language of the bigots in question, understood neither by the people nor by their rulers—equally foreign to both parties—is preferred to English, as the language of the courts of law, of the public accounts, and of diplomacy. The Mahomedans, like all other conquerors of ancient or modern times, imposed their own laws and their own language on the conquered people. To establish our power we pursue the very opposite course. One might almost suppose that the real intention of such patronage to dead and foreign barbarous dialects, to the exclusion of our own language, was to keep all parties not only in utter ignorance of each other,



but in ignorance of every thing which an uncivilised might learn from a civilised people—of all that might tend to improve the character or happiness of our subjects. By such a course of conduct we make a mystery of Government—we convert it into a craft. Shall we not in this particular appear, to impartial observers, as behaving more like the wily priesthood of some ugly superstition, which wraps its dogmas in a recondite language, the better to secure its power and pretensions, than the enlightened conquerors of a great country? Let us bring the matter a little nearer to our doors, that the folly and absurdity of our proceedings may appear in their just colours. Suppose the Russians were to have wrested Greece from the Turks, and annexed it to their own dominions, would they not be considered absolute children if they adopted the barbarous dialect of the Turks in their courts of law, their fiscal administration, and their diplomacy, to the exclusion of the Russian or the modern Greek language? This is exactly the policy we have pursued. The cases are precisely parallel.

No assertion is more frequent with the advocates of restriction, than that the Hindus are a people unchangeable in their manners and opinions, and having a strong repugnance to all that is foreign—to every thing like change, necessarily including every thing like improvement. The late Sir Thomas Munro expressed this opinion in the most unqualified manner in his evidence at the bar of the House of Commons in 1813. Nothing can be more natural than that such an opinion should be entertained by a few solitary Europeans, living amongst millions of Hindus, or of any other people whatever. All advance in civilisation is slow and almost imperceptible, and no wonder that an isolated observer, however great his natural acuteness, seeing the Hindus subjected to no material cause of change, should be ready to pronounce their manners and character immutable. Sir Thomas Munro's ob-

servation applied to twelve millions of Indians, among whom there were, exclusive of civil and military servants, certainly not a hundred free settlers. As long as we take the utmost pains to exclude all causes of change and improvement, no doubt there will be neither change nor improvement. Admit these causes, and the Hindus will be found as improvable as other races. The changes and even improvements which the Mahomedans effected are alone sufficient proof that the Hindus are neither unalterable nor unimprovable. Every where they improved the government, the laws, the arts, and even the literature of the country. We are compelled at length, however reluctantly, to abandon our extravagant and fanciful notions of ancient Hindu civilisation, and to come to the rational conclusion, that the Hindus were always inferior to their conquerors: these conquerors effected all, in improving them, that was within the scope of their ability; but still, as they were not a very powerful or a very civilised people themselves, they are far indeed from having effected what it is in our power to accomplish.

The great majority of British sojourners in India are in the Bengal provinces, and a vast majority of these within the comparatively narrow limits of the town of Calcutta: the whole number of such sojourners does not exceed three thousand persons, of which we compute that about two-thirds are inhabitants of Calcutta; the remaining third, dispersed and powerless, is scattered over the nearly 600,000 square miles beyond its limits. It is, therefore, in the European towns alone, and especially in Calcutta, that there exists any thing like an efficient cause for change and improvement; and, considering the smallness of the means, change and improvement have, since the era of the free trade, the short compass of thirteen years, been great and remarkable.

A few striking examples may be given. The native inhabitants of Calcutta having been last

year admitted to sit as petty jurymen in criminal cases, an official list of qualified persons was duly published: the qualification, in respect to education, was such a knowledge of the English language as should enable the party to follow the judge in his charge; and in point of property, an estate of the value of 500*l.* sterling, or payment of a house-rent of 5*l.* per annum. Persons possessing an estate of the value of 20,000*l.* were exempted from serving on common juries. The lists, admitted to be imperfect, showed eighty-four qualified Indians, of whom no less than fifty-seven were men possessing an estate of 20,000*l.* or upwards.

From this statement several most interesting and important deductions may be drawn. Not many years ago even a miserable smattering of the English language was confined to a few profligate persons, whose interests brought them into immediate connexion with Europeans for no good purposes. We have here persons representing property worth, at the lowest possible estimate, 1,140,000*l.*, possessing not only a knowledge of the English language, but sufficient European education to enable them to comprehend the charge of a British judge to a jury. Of the whole number of persons competent to serve on juries, more than sixty-seven in a hundred are of this wealthy class, showing pretty clearly that it is the higher, and not the lower, or even middling orders that are most disposed to receive European education. In the list of native jurors there is not to be found a single Mahomedan name, either of Hindustan, Persia, or Arabia; the whole is composed of the alleged *unchangeable* Hindus. Further, the great majority of these wealthy persons are brahmins, and all of them men of high caste. The different reception which the jury bill received at the commercial settlement of Calcutta, where there is much intercourse with Europeans, and at the uncommercial settlement of Madras, where there is very little, ought not to be passed over. The

natives of Madras held meetings, and declared that it was repugnant to their habits, institutions, religious prejudices, and inclinations, to sit on juries. One might almost suppose, that the advocates of restriction in Europe had been reading them a lesson. The natives of Calcutta received the boon with satisfaction, and set about preparing petitions to Parliament, praying to be admitted to the privilege of sitting on grand as well as petty juries !

The number of schools instituted at Calcutta and its vicinity, for the instruction of natives in English education, during the last few years, is extraordinary. In the town there are twenty private religious or benevolent institutions engaged, directly or indirectly, in the promotion of European education. In some of these, natives of the highest rank and greatest wealth have associated themselves with Europeans. Five years ago there were, in Calcutta or its neighbourhood, forty-three private schools, for the instruction of the Indians in English. As to disinclination to European learning, this is wholly out of the question. On the contrary, both the interests and the practical good sense of the natives lead them to give it a decided preference, notwithstanding some foolish attempts made to restrain them, by diverting their principal attention to the barren field of their own language, literature, and philosophy ! Even the Hindu religion seems to be giving way before the light of reason ; and it is well it should, for, independent of its spiritual consequences, the influence which this degrading superstition exercises over civil society is pernicious and demoralising, far beyond that of any other known form of worship.

English laws and institutions, at least such as are suitable and rational, are equally popular with the Hindus, notwithstanding the pains taken at one period to convince the English public to the contrary, and to make them believe that they were unalterably attached to their own. What but this attach-

ment has peopled the towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay? What but this partiality makes a real property in Calcutta worth twenty years' purchase, when in the provinces it is not worth five? What but this makes a Hindu contented with an interest of five or six per cent. for his money in Calcutta, when he might receive in the provinces twenty or twenty-four? The Indians, in short, are thoroughly imbued with a just sense of the advantages of being considered British subjects, and of living under the protection of English law. When the natives, living within the pale of the English law, contrast their own prosperity and security with the poverty, disorder, and anarchy of the provinces, how should they feel otherwise? What the state of law and police must be in these provinces we shall briefly point out. Justice is there administered by one hundred and fifty unprofessional Europeans,—in this number being included judges as well as magistrates, assistants as well as chiefs, judges of appellate as well as of primary jurisdictions. Limiting the jurisdiction of these persons to 500,000 square miles, and to 75,000,000 of inhabitants, it follows that each of the above unprofessional Europeans must administer justice and maintain police over an area of 3,266 square miles, and over half a million of people, ignorant of the locality of five square miles of the area in question, not acquainted with fifty persons out of the 500,000, and having at best but a sorry acquaintance with the language, manners, or usages of any one man amongst so vast a multitude\*.

Some eminent persons have expressed an opinion that the Hindus stood in no need of improvement, or at all events that they were not likely to be bettered

\* "You may rely on it, and I hope the truth may not be learned in a more unpleasant manner, that the present system cannot go on."—SIR EDWARD HYDE EAST, *His Majesty's Chief Justice of Bengal*, in his *Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*; see *Appendix for further extracts*.

by any intercourse with us. This wanton hypothesis is fortunately nearly obsolete. The assertion and its contradiction will be found in the Appendix. If it be right, that a mischievous and degrading, and often blood-thirsty superstition should be supplanted by rational religion—that knowledge should supersede ignorance—that feebleness and sloth should give way to energy and industry—that poverty should be exchanged for wealth—then the Hindoos stand in need of improvement, and it is our duty not to refuse it to them, but to show them up the examples.

We repeat, that the only suitable and efficient means of improving our conquered subjects—the only means by which one people ever conferred lasting and solid improvement upon another—is a free and unshackled intercourse between the two parties. Will the stability of our dominion be impaired by the improvement of the Hindus? Poor and ignorant nations are always most liable to delusion, and most subject to insurrection; wealthy and intelligent ones the least so. In proportion, therefore, as the Hindus become instructed, and are rescued from their present poverty, they will only be the more easy of management. This easy management of course supposes the introduction of laws and institutions suitable to, and keeping pace with, their advancement in civilisation. They cannot always be governed as mere helots; nor would a nation of helots be worth the governing: they must be gradually, and as they improve, admitted to a share in their own administration. If this principle be prudently and liberally acted upon, we may maintain our Indian dominion for many centuries. Sooner or later, be our administration good or bad, and soonest unquestionably in the latter case, we must lose it; for a relation which separates the governors from the governed by a navigation of 15,000 miles (the latter being to the former in the numerical proportion of five to one), cannot be a very natural or a very useful connexion to either party.

In the meanwhile, such of the Hindus as have partaken of European education are not ambitious—they are a frugal and rather a mercenary people, with very little disposition to engage in politics. The newspaper of widest circulation in Calcutta, for example, has 728 subscribers, of whom eight only are natives: perhaps it would be overrating the whole native readers of English newspapers in Calcutta to reckon them at fifty; and among the 100,000,000 of people beyond its limits, there certainly are not one half this number. The circulation of newspapers in the Indian languages is also extremely limited\*.

If the account which we have above given, of the predilection of the Hindus and other Indians for our language, literature, useful institutions, and knowledge, be just, and we have full reliance upon its being so, every Indian who acquires an English education becomes, of necessity, a convert to what may be called our political opinions, and consequently an additional support to our dominion. Should the natives abandon their own superstitions (the matter is already in progress), and adopt our religious opinions, this will be an additional tie. Their conversion, whether civil or religious, must necessarily be gradual, and will be the safer and more efficient for being so, but every convert of either description will be an additional stay to the support of our dominion. Every conquest of this description, which we make in the province of ignorance and dissatisfaction, will be a fresh accession to our own strength. The result, hitherto at least, has been just exactly what we are describing it. Those among the natives who understand our

\* The number of newspapers, English and native, published throughout India, is twenty-three, besides about ten advertisers. The English newspapers of Calcutta are eight in number; the native six. An English newspaper in Calcutta, with half the letter-press of an English one, is rather more than double its price. There are no stamps, but the postage to the distant stations often much exceeds the first cost of the paper.

language and manners, and whom experience has taught to appreciate our institutions, are invariably found to be the most faithful of our subjects; indeed, perhaps the only portion of our Indian subjects at all attached to our rule. This was felt and acknowledged during the recent contest with the Burmans, and the insurrection of the Jats. The Government, indeed, was so confident of the fidelity of the great population of Calcutta, where those advantages are chiefly felt and appreciated, that it did not scruple to send away the principal military force to the seat of war, abandoning the capital to the protection of a few companies of European infantry, and the goodwill of the inhabitants\*. To conclude, a separation between us and the Hindus cannot reasonably be looked for until the great majority of the latter think, speak, and act—in a word, are as wise as their masters; an event which, with modesty and caution be it spoken, cannot be expected to take place under many centuries.

We shall now advert briefly to the positive restrictions imposed upon the trade of the East Indies. Sugar the produce of the British possessions in India, pays 10*l.* per ton more than sugar the produce of the West Indian islands. Sugar the produce of any other Indian country pays 36*l.* per ton more, that is about thirty times the prime cost of the commodity in India. East Indian coffee, the produce of our own territories, pays 27*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* per ton more than the produce of our West Indian possessions; Foreign East Indian coffee pays 55*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* more. These protecting duties, as they are mis-called, extend to many other articles, such as turmeric, rum, cotton, hides, &c.—they even extend to

\* “And it may be relied on, that the natives in general, but more particularly the Hindus of all ranks, are proud of the distinction (British subjects under the protection of the laws of England), and zealous for its full extension to them.” — CHIEF JUSTICE EAST’S *Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*. .



articles of a corresponding nature, although essentially different: pimento, for example, pays only 5*d.* per pound, while black pepper pays from 12 to 14*d.*, cloves 24*d.*, nutmegs 30*d.*, and mace 42*d.* In the case of these last East Indian productions, there is no distinction of duty between Foreign and British produce; all are loaded with the same exorbitant impost; an impost so heavy that it is only a wonder how there is any consumption of them at all. Of course they are consumed as mere luxuries, and never can reach the great mass of the people. There is, by the way, one curious example of equal duties between an East Indian and a West Indian production, in the case of ginger. On both, the impost is 11*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. and the drawback 10*s.* This, to be sure, after all, is but a nominal equality; the West Indian ginger, the produce of European cultivation, being so immeasurably superior to the East Indian, the growth of mere native industry. Even this approach to fairness, however, has its effect in the comparative quantities made use of. In 1826, the quantity of East Indian ginger imported into London was 27,656 bags, and of West Indian, only 7,025 bags and casks. In general, the united effect of the heavy and discriminating duties on East Indian productions is to render it nearly altogether impracticable to import them for the consumption of this country. We cannot import entire cargoes of indigo or of silk; we must bring heavy as well as light goods; in short, we must ballast our ships with something of value, as the mud of the Ganges, or the rocks of Bombay, would make but a sorry remittance to Great Britain. No valuable or extensive commerce can ever be carried on with India, or with any other country, without a fair and reciprocal exchange of mutual products. The Indians have evinced a sufficient propensity to consume our manufactures, if we will but allow them to pay for them in the produce of their soil and industry, the only way in which any people can pay,

and which if we refuse, we must either give them our goods for nothing or have no intercourse. From our refusing to act on this principle, or even to make any decent approach towards acting upon it, much of the apparent advantage of the present trade is, in reality, fallacious and delusory. There are nominal profits upon the sale of the manufactures of this country in India which become nugatory, from the impossibility of making advantageous returns.

On any principle, either of justice, of reason, or of sound commercial policy, the protection given to the West Indian islands is wholly indefensible. It amounts just to this; we grant to a few poor Islands in the western hemisphere, with a population of eight hundred thousand slaves, a monopoly which in one shape or another has been fairly computed to cost the nation considerably more than three millions sterling per annum, and which, in its consequences, not only excludes us in a great measure from a beneficial intercourse with all Asia, but with all tropical America also. We openly proclaim our desire to put down the slave trade; and of late, at least we have professed ourselves to be advocates for free trade. If we were tried, however, by the evidence of facts and not of professions, impartial judges would unquestionably pronounce, that we were in reality the secret abettors both of slavery and monopoly. The effect of protecting duties and bounties is, to make slavery perpetual. The West Indian islands underpeopled, present the ominous spectacle of a stationary or retrograding population, the unequivocal sign of barbarism or misgovernment in every region of the globe—in every era of the history of man\*. In short, as long as a bonus is paid by this country on slavery, in the shape of bounty and protection to their staple produce, the natural course of improvement from the servile condition to villanage and eventual freedom is as certainly precluded as if a perpetual law were enacted, to lock up the mass of the inhabitants

\* See Appendix.

manacled in dungeons. But this is not all ; with unexampled wantonness we have given the same bounty on slavery in our newly acquired possessions, insular and continental : from sheer affection to the principle, we granted it even to the slave islands which were in our temporary occupation during the war. We have just extended it to the Mauritius, the only spot in the East Indies where colonial produce is grown by slave labour. Had we really been hearty and honest in the cause of abolition, would we not have pursued the very opposite course, or, at the very least, would we not have followed a policy strictly neutral, instead of loading ourselves with a tax of yearly millions to perpetuate the evil ? East and West Indian sugars were upon an equality until 1814. In that year we partially opened the commerce of India ; but, lest free trade should do us too much good, we imposed a discriminating duty in one case and a prohibitory one in the other, upon the grand staple of the produce of the East, without a free trade in which all endeavours for an effectual extension of our commercial intercourse with India must prove futile and abortive.

It appears that the very richest of our West Indian islands is of so poor and unsuitable a soil, that the land, for equal labour and expenditure, will hardly yield one-fourth part of the produce which is yielded by that of more favoured tropical countries\*. It is from such land that it is deemed wise and politic that this great country should be supplied with its consumption of 380,000,000lbs. of sugar—with one grand article of the necessities of life. This is nearly as bad as if the Legislature were to put the richest lands in this kingdom under an interdict, ordering and appointing that henceforth the whole bread-corn of the inhabitants should be grown only on land of fourth or fifth rate quality. It would be like passing a law that no gold should

\* Evidence of West India Planters before His Majesty's Privy Council, 1789.—See Appendix.

be used in our circulation except what was produced in the mountains of Wicklow, or that our future consumption of cotton-wool should be raised in hot-houses. We repeat, that without a free trade, and without light duties upon sugar, neither this country nor any other temperate one will ever be enabled to carry on an extensive and beneficial commerce with the regions of the tropical world; for it is not only the most general article of their produce, but with us a primary article of consumption—for that matter, after corn and salt, the first necessary of life in our subsistence. Estimating the present population of the United Kingdom at about twenty-two millions, the consumption of sugar, it will be seen, amounts to something less than  $17\frac{1}{4}$  lbs. per head, or about sixty-three cents of an ounce per diem. No one will pretend to allege, that with moderate duties and a free trade, such would be the average consumption of the United Kingdom. A pound of good sugar in the Indian market may be had for two-pence, without reckoning upon the reduction of price which would be the certain consequence of improved skill in growth and manufacture: freight, profit, and charges, would hardly add a penny a pound to this cost. The best Indian sugar might be had then for three-pence per pound.

The present wholesale price of raw sugar in this country may be moderately estimated at four-pence per pound, exclusive of duties. If the cost were reduced by one-fourth, the consumption, with the same outlay, might also be increased by one-fourth. It is now about 170,000 tons per annum, and in that case would be 212,500. The shipping employed in this branch of trade would, of course, be increased by 42,500 tons. The revenue, which is reckoned at five millions per annum, would be enhanced by 1,250,000*l.*, or the duties reduced, and the country relieved from taxation, by the same amount. The exportation of sugar, raw and unrefined, would equally partake of this improvement.

The principle of the free settlement of Europeans in India being acted upon, we would have no protecting duties upon sugar the production of any British settlement whatsoever, but openly admit, in terms of equality, the produce of every tropical country whatsoever without distinction. The interest of the inhabitants of this country—nay, the true interests of her colonies themselves—require that she should not be taxed, directly or indirectly, for the purpose (and it amounts to nothing better) of giving a wrong direction to any branch of capital, and thus arresting the progress of her commercial industry.

With respect to duties, the fair and reasonable course to pursue in imposing them, whether on sugar or on any similar commodity, is to adopt a plan which shall combine the equity of an *ad valorem* with the facility and simplicity of a rated duty. An arrangement on this principle saves trouble and vexation, both to the trader and revenue officer; the same plan should be followed with respect to drawbacks; this system is pursued with much advantage under the Government of the United States, not only in respect to sugar but to tea, and other articles of the same description. It is impossible that the principle of taxation followed by us, in respect to colonial produce, can be right. The finest West Indian muscovado sugar, for example, pays a duty of scarcely 48 per cent., the lowest pays 90 per cent.; Ceylon coffee pays a duty, according to the present prices, of 256 per cent.; Mocha coffee, which nominally pays one-fourth more duty, in reality pays very little above 100 per cent.; nay, the best description of it scarcely pays 75 per cent. The obvious result of all this is, that the consumption of the lower orders of the people is taxed at an enormous rate, and the consumption of the wealthy at a comparatively moderate one. Under this system, an extended consumption in the only quarter from which a great and effectual consumption can be expected, is more inevitably and certainly prevented, than if we were to make a

sumptuary law, debarring the great mass of the population from using tea, coffee, sugar, and all similar objects of luxury, because such law would inevitably be set at naught. All this, we repeat, cannot be right, and should be altered.

We have but a word or two to add on the comparative importance of East and West Indian commerce. Our sugar colonies in the West Indies contain a population of about eight hundred thousand persons, the great majority of whom are slaves, themselves possessing no property, but in reality the property of others. Our possessions in the East Indies contain eighty-three millions of inhabitants, and all that is included under the name of the East Indies, not less than three hundred millions, among whom the slaves are so few in number, and so little distinguished in colour or condition, that it would not be a very easy matter for a stranger, on the most careful inquiry, to detect them. Under any thing like equal freedom of intercourse it would be a bold assertion, to insist that a commercial correspondence with eight hundred thousand persons, had their condition been favourable instead of being miserable, should ever be equal in value, in usefulness, or in extent, to one with 375, or even 100 times their number. It is very true that, under an ancient and exploded system, which for folly and mischief on the great scale has no parallel in the commercial history of the world, the trade of a few slave islands in the West Indies was actually of greater extent than the commerce of all the East Indies put together. This is, however, no longer the case; in the year 1814 the official value of the exports to, and the imports from the British West Indies was 15,644,447*l.*, much of it however being a mere transit trade for South American merchandise, originating in a state of war. In the same year the official value of the East India trade was only 7,394,790*l.*, or less than one-half. In 1826, the West India trade, export and import, was 11,574,543*l.*, that of the East Indies 13,578,952*l.*

the last now exceeding the first by 2,004,409*l*. This is, however, by no means the whole amount of the difference in favour of the East Indies. East Indian staples are undervalued in the Custom-House returns, and West Indian overvalued. This, according to a very good authority, makes a further difference, of full two millions in favour of the East Indies, so that the real excess of its trade beyond that of the West Indies was 4,004,409*l*. It is in the necessary order of things, and in the natural course of human events, to expect that, when the trade of China is thrown open to the nation, and European capital and enterprise are fairly exerted in the improvement of our territorial dominions, the trade of the West will hardly bear the same proportion to that of the East Indies, which the foreign commerce of the Isle of Man does to that of the whole United Kingdom besides. Even in its present state of restraint and depression, the importance of the Indian trade becomes every year more and more obvious; and unless, to our own injury, we wantonly step forward to arrest its progress, will soon surpass all that was predicted of it in the celebrated prophecy of Adam Smith. According to the returns for 1827, the East Indian trade of Great Britain exceeded that of the whole of the North of Europe, including Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands, by 991,779*l*. It exceeded the trade of all Germany by 2,767,803*l*. It exceeded the united trade of France, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Turkey, and the Levant, by 697,082*l*. It exceeded the trade of the United States, and of our own colonies in North America, put together, by 707,053*l*. It exceeded the united trades of the foreign West, Brazil, Mexico, Columbia, Peru, Chili, and Buenos-Ayres, by no less than 6,251,463*l*. Finally, it exceeded our commerce with the new states of South America, so much wanted, by considerably more than a five-fold proportion\*.

\* See Appendix.

## APPENDIX.

THE opinions and sentiments solemnly tendered to the Legislature in 1813, and confidently and importunately obtruded on the public, on the great questions connected with the Government of India, are, perhaps, the most remarkable instances on record of the danger of political prognostication; and, it is to be hoped, will prove memorable examples to posterity of the advantage and superiority of principle over authority. Some of the most eminent individuals ever connected with the Government of India volunteered doctrines and assertions upon that occasion, to which the experience of a few short years has given the most exemplary refutation. It is only necessary to mention the names of Warren Hastings, the Marquis of Wellesley, and Sir Thomas Munro, as signal proofs of the inefficacy of great and eminent names upon such questions as those which came under discussion. There were, indeed, a few distinguished exceptions to the erroneous doctrines so industriously propagated in 1813. Of these, the most remarkable were Lord Grenville in the House of Peers, and Mr. Rickards in the House of Commons. These instructed and talented individuals, relying on general principles, foretold, in the clearest and most forcible language, the results which must inevitably follow a free commerce on one hand, and a perseverance in monopoly on the other. Their sentiments, anticipating public opinion and the practice of the Legislature, belong rather to the present time than the period of darkness which preceded the partial opening of the Indian trade\*.

\* Mr. T. H. Colebrooke, formerly a Member of the Supreme Council of India, and a man of the most various talents and acquirements, is a no less illustrious exception. Twenty years before the opening of the free trade, he foretold the advantages which would arise from it, and long anticipated every other authority in predicting the safety and utility of colonising India, as far as that was practicable.



# ENGLISH OPINIONS OF INDIA IN 1813.

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*Evidence given before the House of Commons, 1813.*

March 22.

*Warren Hastings, Esq, late Governor General of India,  
in reply to a question by the Company's Counsel:—*

“The supplies of trade are for the wants and luxuries of the people; the poor in India may be said to have no wants; their wants are confined to their dwellings, to their food, and to a scanty portion of clothing, all which they can have from the soil that they tread upon, and their apparel almost without any cost.”

“Are you of opinion that the commerce of India, as at present regulated, is as advantageous to that country and to Great Britain as it would be if free and equal to all the subjects of Great Britain?”

“Certainly as much, and much more so.”

N. B.—Mr. Hastings is reminded by the Committee that he had written a review of the state of Bengal, in which he had given it as his opinion, that it was of less consequence that the investment should be procured cheap, than that the commerce of the country should flourish; insisting upon it, as a fixed and incontrovertible principle, that commerce could only flourish when free and equal. Replied, that he did not remember the statement in his publication alluded to; that he did not come there to defend his own inconsistencies; and that if ever he entertained the sentiments ascribed to him, he now positively abjured them.

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April 5.

*Sir John Malcolm, late Envoy to the Court of Persia,  
Political Agent, &c., &c., and now Governor of Bombay,  
examined by the Company's Counsel:—*

“State whether the general population of India are likely to become customers for European commodities?”

“If by the general population of India is meant (which I suppose it is) the great mass, there is no doubt they are not likely to become customers for European articles, because they do not possess the means to purchase them, even if, from their present simple habits of life and attire, they

required them. I believe (for I have not very minute knowledge upon the subject) that the wages of labour, and the pay of the manufacturers, differ in a very great degree over different parts of India, but that in no part is it sufficient to enable them to purchase luxuries; and such they consider every European article."

"Do you think, or not, that the majority of the Hindu population are contented with the British sway at present?"

"I have answered that question, as far as I am able, in what I stated above; they appear to be so."

*Græme Mercer, Esq., late Political Resident at the Court of Scindiah, examined by the Company's Counsel:—*

"Have the mass of the population in India either the means or the desire of purchasing any European manufactures?"

"I am not of opinion that they have any desire, and I am certain that the great body of the people have not the means."

"Are the natives of India, generally, a manufacturing people, skillful in manufacturing operations, and likely to provide for themselves whatever manufactures they stand in need of?"

"They are very much so; and have hardly any, if any, wants from foreign countries."

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*April 12.*

*Sir Thomas Munro, Commissioner of Revenue, and late Governor of Madras, examined by the Company's Counsel:—*

"Are you not of opinion that the Hindu nation are much attached to their own modes of living and thinking?"

"They are. I do not think they are positively unchangeable, but they are as unchangeable as any thing can possibly be."

"In the event of a free trade, I do not think that there would be any considerable increase of the demand for European commodities among the natives of India: I do not think that this want of demand depends exactly upon the high price. The high price in India ought to have the same effect as it has in Europe: it does not in Europe prevent the general consumption of Indian commodities, it only makes

people take less of them ; but every person, I believe, purchases in some degree according to his circumstances : this is not the case in India ; there are very few people there that purchase any European commodities : it does not depend upon a man's wealth or poverty ; the wealthy man purchases no more than his poor neighbour : there is no gradation in the consumption of European commodities, depending upon the wealth of the individuals : at our principal settlement, where we have been long established, the natives have adopted none of our habits, and scarcely use any of our commodities : the very domestics of Europeans use none of them."

*(Examined by the Committee.)*

"Can you form a judgment what would be the consequence, to the British empire in India and the British interests in Europe, if the commercial transactions of India were separated from those hands who may exercise the sovereign power?"

"This is a complicated question ; but I should rather think, that by such a separation the power of the Company, of carrying into effect their Government, would be very much weakened."

*April 13.*

"Are not the goods of the interior brought in great abundance to the principal sea ports by the natives cheaper than if this was done by European agency?"

"They are. I think that private traders going into the interior, whatever their habits may be, would be likely to commit excesses ; for I scarcely ever knew an instance of an European trader coming into the interior without being involved in some dispute with the natives."

(The Committee, on getting this reply, asked Colonel Munro, if he knew any instance of the disturbances alluded to. He quoted the case of a Dane, who had got possession of a house, and would not quit it until ordered to do so by him, the colonel.) "Had he been an Englishman," he adds, "he would most probably have kicked out the owner, for presuming to molest an Englishman in his castle, and it would have required a suit at law to eject him. I find no difference in traders, whether their habits are quiet or not, when they quit this country : they are very seldom quiet when they find themselves among an unresisting people, over whom they can exercise their authority ; for every

trader going into India is considered as some person connected with the Government."

*(Examined further by the Committee.)*

"Have you ever contemplated the effects of commerce in the western world, the share it has had in oversetting or softening the despotisms, and changing the established manners of Europe, and in improving and enlightening the state of European society generally?"

"I have seen and observed that the effect of commerce has been that of very greatly tending to the enlightening of most of the nations of Europe."

"Have not those blessings and improvements been established in Europe, in very many cases, in despite of strong local and national prejudices, and even in despite of the most strenuous efforts of human power to oppose them?"

"I believe that they have. If the manners and customs of the Indians are to be changed, and I think it likely that they will be changed by commerce, but commerce does not seem to have produced much effect upon them."

"Do you think that there is any thing in the natural disposition, passions, or prejudices of the natives of India, that would lead permanently to resist the silent operation of causes which would thus multiply to them the comforts of life, and which have been productive of effects as irresistible as beneficial in other countries, and among other classes of European society?"

"I do not imagine it would lead them to resist the operation of such causes permanently; but that it would be very long before any change was effected."

"Have you ever heard the commercial character and proceedings of the Company talked of by those natives who either dared, or had confidence enough in you to speak on the subject, in terms of complaint or disrespect?"

"I never heard the commercial character of the Company talked of by any natives except with respect."

"With regard to civilisation, I do not exactly understand what is meant by the civilisation of the Hindus; in the higher branches of science, in the knowledge of the theory and practice of good government, and in an education which, by banishing prejudice and superstition, opens the mind to receive instruction of every kind, from every quarter, they are much inferior to Europeans: but if a good system of agriculture; unrivalled manufacturing skill; a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience or luxury;

schools established in every village, for teaching, reading, writing, and arithmetic; the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other; and above all, a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect, and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe; and if civilisation is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country will gain by the import cargo."

*April 14.*

"While this poverty exists generally, is it possible, in your opinion, to extend very materially the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and India?"

"I do not suppose that the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and India can be very considerably extended; but I think that the poverty of the ryots is the chief cause which prevents it: I think that poverty is every day diminishing; and, under a long peace and a settled Government, that it will be less felt every year. It is this trading disposition of the natives which induces me to think it impossible that any European traders can long remain in the interior of India, and that they must, sooner or later, all be driven to the coast."

"Upon the occasions you have described, have you observed any disposition towards the purchase of European articles, either for ornament or use?"

"None, except perhaps some very small lamps, or some pieces of broad cloth, amongst the most expensive; nor those in any material degree."

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*Sir Charles Mallet, Bart., late Resident at the Court of Poonah, examined by Counsel:—*

"Do you think that, in the event of free trade, there is any probability of a materially-increased sale of the manufactures of this country?"

"I never saw that there was any great room for an increase of demand for the manufactures of this country in any part of Hindustan with which I have been acquainted."

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*Alexander Falconer, Esq., late Secretary to the Government of Madras, examined by the Company's Counsel:—*

"The demand for the commodities of Europe is very small amongst the natives of India?"

“ I am not aware that it has increased ; I apprehend it has rather diminished of late years : I am not aware that it has increased among any class of the native population ; and I am of opinion that it is unlikely to increase beyond the degree in which we have found it by experience. I imagine that the experience of the East India Company, for a period of about two centuries, and the experience of other nations trading to Asia, has afforded ample proof of the impossibility of increasing the demand beyond the present standard. It appears to me unlikely that they can, by any expedient, be changed : the market being overstocked, the demand of the natives is necessarily decreased.”

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*Thomas Cockburn, Esq., a Member of the Board of Revenue at Madras, examined by the Company's Counsel :—*

“ Can you name any new article which, in the course of your long experience (from 1779 to 1802), has been introduced into native consumption ? ”

“ I am not aware of any new article. I believe they have used a few empty bottles, for the purpose of keeping glue and oil, and such things, in addition to a few woollen articles.”

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## S P E E C H E S.

*Mr. Robert Thornton, Deputy Chairman of the East India Company :—*

“ How could one of their people, whose income amounted only to between 4*l.* or 6*l.*, afford to purchase any of the costly manufactures of this country ? Before the commencement of the troubles of France, the universal cry in that country was “ *liberty and trade,* ” and now their ports were completely shut to trade. That ought to be a lesson to us how we listened to idle clamour.”

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*Mr. Charles Grant, Sen. a Director of the East India Company :—*

“ He was also hostile to hurry, and wished that evidence should be heard on certain points : for instance, as to the possibility of increasing the export of British manufactures for Indian consumption. It was certain that no new articles had been sent out to that country since the opening in 1793.”

*Marquess Wellesley, late Governor General of India:—*

“Would their Lordships break down the system, merely to give hopes to the out ports, which would finally prove, he was convinced, as delusive as they were unjust at the outset?”

*Lord Grenville:—*

*April 9.*

“The very existence of this blended character of merchant and sovereign, on which our whole Indian system is now built up, appears to me an anomaly inconsistent with all true principles of government, reprobated by all experience. No sovereign, I confidently believe, has ever yet traded to profit; no trading company, I greatly fear, has yet administered government for the happiness of its subjects.”

“My noble friend, who presides over that department, has anticipated the question; has more than answered the inquiry. He has told us, and I believe his assertion is much within the truth, that, since the last renewal of their Charter, they have lost on this trade above four millions sterling! in trading with one of the richest countries of the East; a country whose government they administer, and whose commerce they monopolise! and if, at this hour, they do not, in fact, realise a profit on any part of their vast concerns, where only is that profit to be found? Not in their export trade from England; that trade is a monopoly, and on that it is their boast to lose. Not on their import trade from India, where they exercise unrestricted power; that trade my noble friend has characterised, and the impression of his statement will not, I am sure, be speedily effaced from our remembrance. In China alone they trade to profit. In China, where they have no sovereignty—no monopoly—no preference of trade; where they have not even the common benefit of free access. In China, where they are banished, like outcasts, to a narrow and remote corner of the empire, there to reside under a perpetual quarantine.”

“For twenty years, this losing trade has been unremittingly pursued; for twenty years longer it will most probably continue, if these resolutions are adopted. This is the very principle on which they rest.”

“Their losses on export from this country are not even disguised; their advocates proclaim the fact, and even boast of it. So habituated are we, in considering the complicated relations of this great Company, to confound all principles of government and policy, that this annual waste of the

property with which they are entrusted, is actually urged, on their behalf, as a sacrifice which they make to national interests, and as a claim upon the gratitude of Parliament. Yet if loss is incurred in this case, by whom is it sustained? Not by the Directors themselves—that would be wholly unreasonable; not by the proprietors of India Stock—they receive, and must receive their undiminished dividends. The loss falls on the public treasury—on the people of England, whose participation of Indian revenue must be still further postponed by every fresh embarrassment in the Company's affairs, and whose representatives are called upon, year after year, to supply, in loans, in forbearances, and in facilities of public credit, the deficiencies of this uncommercial system."

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*Report from the Committee of Correspondence to  
the Court of Directors. Feb. 9, 1813.*

"With regard to the effects of monopoly on the manufactures, trade, and other interests of this country, if any thing said in these days, to the discredit of the Company, could occasion surprise, it would be the representations given in the petitions on that head. The Company is accused of obstructing the export of the manufactures of this country; even by some (with an honourable exception of the rest) of those woollen manufacturers, who owe their chief employment to the Company's commissions, continued, for the benefit of the nation, under a certainty of deriving no benefit from the exported article.

"There seems to be a general and deplorable delusion, respecting the practicability of a vast extension of the sale of the manufactures of this country in India and China, and of the productions of those countries here.

"But the great conclusion to be derived from the account of the trade since 1793, is this—in all the period of nearly twenty years from that time to the present, in which, undoubtedly, facilities and enlargements, never enjoyed before, have been given for private enterprise and adventure, in which the private trade has considerably increased, and on the whole a very ample experiment has been made; not one new article for the consumption of India has been exported, and little perceivable difference in the few articles of metals and woollens, of which they participated before. This is a very remarkable fact, and ought to make a deep impression on all persons who in any way interest themselves in this subject. Let us not hear of that unfair charge, so often



repeated, that the Company's restrictions have prevented persons from availing themselves of the privileges held out by the public regulations.

"On the whole, then, this may be pronounced a decisive proof that there is no opening, nor any material opening to be expected, for the sale of European articles for the use of the natives of India.

"The American export trade in the ten years ending with 1804-5, amounted to 4,643,575*l.*, or per annum 464,357*l.*; they imported to the value of 390,606*l.*: the trade was all the while progressive.

"On the side of the merchants there is nothing but a sanguine theory. On the side of the Company there is the experience of all the nations of Europe for three centuries; there is the testimony of ancient history; there are the climate, the nature, the usages, tastes, prejudices, religious and political institutions of the Eastern people.

"Eminent as Dr. Smith certainly was in the science of political economy, he was not infallible. His information respecting India was very defective and erroneous; his prejudices against the East India Company extreme, and his prognostics concerning their Indian Government wholly mistaken. In the period which has elapsed, of nearly forty years, since he first published his work on the wealth of nations, the endeavours of all Europe and America have made no discovery of that immense market for European manufactures which he said was offered by the East Indies. Yet the same doctrines seems to be still in the minds of some of the petitioners, who made it a serious charge against the Company, that its exports to the immense regions of the East do not amount to a fifth of the exports of this country to North America.

"Of 54,000 tons allotted for the private trade, since 1793, only 21,806 tons had been actually used by private merchants, and these filled wholly with commodities for the use of Europeans.

"A profound observer of human affairs, the President Montesquieu, had, before the time of Doctor Smith, who, however, overlooks his opinions, reasoned more agreeably to nature and experience on this subject."

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*Extract from the East India Company's Petition to the House of Commons.*

"And they hope they will not be deemed presumptuous in

humbly submitting their opinion, considered and reconsidered, that the opening the trade with China, in any degree, would endanger its existence altogether; and that the petitioners have at no time contemplated any alteration, even in the export trade to the East Indies, without considerable doubt and hesitation; but they are firmly of opinion that the unrestrained liberty of importation from that country, otherwise than through the medium of their establishments in London, would produce effects which every well-wisher to this country must deprecate, and which would put to extreme hazard any pledge on their part for the good government of India, or the performance of their obligations; the petitioners submit that they would not be justified in becoming parties to any system which, on consideration, should appear to them likely to prove an illusion; and that as the petitioners do not venture to anticipate what may be the determination of the House upon the question hereby submitted to its decision, they hope that they will be excused for humbly stating what, in the event of the dissolution of the present system, they conceive would be found to be the rights of the petitioners as well as their fair pretensions upon the justice and liberality of Parliament. The absolute right of the petitioners, for their own use, to a considerable part of the ports, towns, islands, territories, and rights which they have acquired abroad, never has been questioned, and they believe it to be unquestionable; and notwithstanding the claim made for the public to other parts of the territorial acquisitions and revenues of the petitioners, they entertain a strong hope that the property, as well in those parts which were acquired by conquest, under the powers of peace and war, lawfully exercised by them, as in those parts which were otherwise acquired, would be found to belong to the petitioners, in the same way as any other property within His Majesty's dominions belongs to the owners thereof, subject to the sovereignty and allegiance due to His Majesty."

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## ENGLISH OPINIONS OF INDIA SINCE THE FREE TRADE.

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The authorities quoted underneath are those of Bishop Heber, Sir E. Hyde East, Mr. Charles Lushington, Sir John Malcolm, and Sir Thomas Munro. Of all these eminent persons, the testimony of Bishop Heber is incomparably the most full and valuable. He was a man of rank, a scholar, and a traveller; at once distinguished for his discernment, benevolence, and humanity. Above all, he came fresh to his subject, and was free from the prepossessions which are, perhaps, inseparable from the agents of the existing system. We by no means intend to assert that the Bishop's information is always critical or accurate. He is right, however, in nine cases out of ten. On his errors in general, it would be invidious to dwell, but there are one or two of them to which it will be necessary to advert. His Lordship, for example, in a long digression, proposes a *corn law* for India, or at least, a regulation for the relief of the people from want or famine, and this through means which, according to his own confession, would raise the price of bread by ten or even twenty per cent. beyond its present average. This wanton, and really mischievous scheme, had, no doubt, its origin in the Bishop's education, and as it is not likely to be acted upon, we may safely leave it to its own refutation.

The most serious charge, however, which we have to make against the Bishop's judgment and impartiality, is his attack upon the character of the indigo planters. He states, in plain terms, that this enterprising and industrious class of English sojourners has done much towards disgusting the natives of India with the British character. This to be sure is but a casual expression in a private letter to a friend; and as no such opinion is contained in his *Journal* it is probable, that it was not his deliberate opinion, formed on a more mature consideration of the subject. We have, in fact, carefully perused the *Journal* and the letters, and cannot discover that the Bishop ever held any intercourse with an indigo planter, or with any native oppressed by an indigo planter. On the contrary, his Lordship almost invariably partook of the hospitality of, and received his information from the high privileged servants of the East India Company, men opposed to the planters by habits, interests,

and prejudices. Unquestionably his Lordship ought to have exercised his own better judgment, and not have given the sanction of his high authority to a calumny without a tittle of evidence. Indeed the Bishop has refuted himself in a passage in another letter, at least as authentic as the first, where he informs us that the more Englishmen that are possessed of lands in the country the better. The only disputes which we have ever heard that the indigo planters have had with the natives, and they have had them just as often with each other, are disputes respecting boundaries, the most frequent of all disputes in India, and which are inseparable from such a state of the law as prevails in the provinces. We must suppose the European indigo planters to be paragons of excellence indeed, to have escaped from the common difficulty\*. To these objections to the testimony of Bishop Heber, may be added his systematic neglect of the Marquess of Hastings. In his two quarto volumes there is not one good word said of the administration of the most generous, liberal, and high-minded man that ever exercised extensive sway in the East. This might be passed over, if his Lordship had not been very liberal of his praises to other *great men*, such as Warren Hastings (the Bishop all the while writing from Benares) and Mr. Jonathan Duncan, a very worthy personage no doubt, if our readers ever heard of him before, but scarcely occupying so large a share of public estimation as the Marquess of Hastings†.

\* "The commitments for breaches of the peace, arising from boundary disputes, and other contests concerning landed property, are ascribed to the great, though unavoidable arrears of untried cases, standing in some of the Courts; since, by necessarily protracting for years the decision of suits, it frequently drives the suitors to despair, and induces them to run the risk of taking justice into their own hands, by seizing the object in dispute, rather than to await the tardy issue of a process which threatened to exceed the probable duration of their own lives."—*Fifth Report of the House of Commons*, p. 65.

† The Bishop on one occasion fixes a quarrel on the noble Marquess, touching a certain block of marble, thus—"In another of the towers are baths of equal beauty, one of which, a single block of white marble, Lord Hastings caused to be forced up from its situation, not without considerable injury, both to the bath itself and the surrounding pavement, in order to carry it to Calcutta. It was, however, too heavy for the common budgerow in use on the Jumna, and the bath remains to shame its spoliator." The Bishop ought, in fairness, to have stated, that the block of marble which makes him so angry, was taken out of a dilapidated bath, in a dilapidated tower of a dilapidated palace. While making this *serious charge* against his Lordship's memorable nine years' administration, he ought also, in candour, to have stated, that of all the English rulers of India, Lord Hastings was the most munificent protector of the ancient monuments of Hindustan. Agra, the very spot from which he was writing, would have afforded him a well known example.

The next authority is that of Sir E. Hyde East, late chief justice of his Majesty's Supreme Court, at Calcutta, or, as it is technically named, of Fort William, in Bengal. Sir Hyde East was one of the most learned, able, and upright judges that ever went to India. His deliberate sentiments, after several years' experience, are conveyed in a public letter addressed to the Earl of Liverpool, as first minister.

Mr. Charles Lushington, the next evidence, was for several years, chief secretary to the Supreme Government of Bengal; his sentiments are conveyed in an useful and instructive work, entitled "The History, Design, and Present State of the Religious, Benevolent, and Charitable Institutions, founded by the British in Calcutta and its Vicinity." Printed at Calcutta, 1824.

Sir John Malcolm has, in the course of his political life, expressed two sets of opinions. In 1813, he had declared that the Indians were not likely to become consumers of British manufactures. In 1824, he informs us that such British manufactures are now *common* in Hindustan. In 1813, he informed us that the natives of India appeared to be *satisfied* with the British Government. In 1824, he informs us that we are sitting on a barrel of gunpowder, on account of their *dissatisfaction*.

Sir Thomas Munro informed us, in 1813, that if civilisation was to become an article of commerce between the two countries, that is, between India and Great Britain, the latter "would gain by the import cargo." This may be supposed to be refuted by his more recent declaration, that the greater number of the public officers under the Native Government, repeating all their unpronounceable names, were thieves, robbers, and murderers; and that there was no travelling through the country where the native institutions were in full vigour, for fear of robbery and assassination.



### *Immutability of the Hindus.*

"The people who came up said they had obtained shelter in the house of a zemindar, but whether a gig and palanquin could get through the waters which were between us, was more than we could form a judgment of. At length, just as we had given them up, and were sitting down to dinner, they arrived, happily all well, and having received an hospitable entertainment from the zemindar in question, at whose house they had asked permission to boil a little

gruel for the children, and who had immediately invited them into a comfortable viranda, and, though a Hindu, sent to purchase them a fowl and currie. The Archdeacon expressed much unwillingness to eat these in his house, knowing, he said, how strong a prejudice would, a few years since, have been excited against such a step. But on his saying, ‘Oh do not let us pollute your house,’ the good man returned an answer which, Mr. Corrie observed, showed, more than most things, how fast caste was wearing away; ‘We have different customs, but are we not of the same flesh and blood? My house is much honoured by your company’.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. I., p. 361.

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“To these schools, increased to the number of thirteen, a central school had been added, for the purpose of imparting instruction in the English language. The eagerness of the natives to learn English, incites them to obtain the necessary previous qualification in their own tongue, and proficiency in this alone is the channel by which admission to their favourite study is procured.”—LUSHINGTON, p. 38.

“Up to that period, Mr. Stewart had very wisely, as Mr. Thomason observes, withheld the Scriptures, as a reading book, from the schools, though he gave them to understand that the Scriptures were to be introduced into the central school by the missionary. It does not appear, from the Reports of the Committee, that this innovation, which was adopted on the arrival of Mr. Jetter, excited disgust. It seems, that in the indiscriminate avidity among the Bengalees to learn English, all prejudice against the means by which this instruction is imparted is absorbed. Hence, without a murmur, and even with alacrity, as attested by the reports of their examinations, the boys are in the constant habit of reading and explaining dialogues on the creation and fate of man, the contents of which are diametrically opposed to Hindu principles, and extracts from the Gospels!! Nay, ‘the Brahmins stood by, and heard them speak of Jesus, the Son of God and Saviour of the world, and of his command to go and preach the Gospel unto all the world, without uttering a word of opposition\*.’

“Latterly, the boys had made such advancement in reading the Bengalee Scriptures, as to have commenced the perusal of the Epistle to the Romans. Their readiness in explaining

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\* Fourth Report of the Calcutta Committee of the Church Missionary Society, p. 8.

the Parables, and especially in unfolding the doctrines of the Gospel, is stated to be remarkable, and the pundits, themselves are represented to assist them in these studies. Adverting to the conduct of the pupils, their pundits and parents, Mr. Deer entertains the conviction that, 'as there is a general reception of the Gospel, so there is a growing acquaintance with it.' Beyond this, however, he has little to say."—LUSHINGTON, p. 40.

"It is now established beyond a doubt, that, to a certain extent, the natives avail themselves of the means of education with great eagerness, and that in many instances they are not even deterred from the pursuit of knowledge by its being conveyed to them through the channel of our religious books. After all, however, the circumstance of their consenting to learn to read in the new Testament is no irrefragable evidence of their prejudice against the Christian religion being diminished. It only marks more clearly to what extent the inferior classes will go, with the view of acquiring a species of knowledge so essential, in their estimation, to their success in life. Numerous as is the attendance on the schools instituted on the approved plan of education, that attendance only lasts until the pupil has acquired sufficient knowledge of reading, writing, and accounts, to enable him to gain a livelihood, and to enter into the innumerable fraternity of writers and sircars; and so intent are both parents and children on the attainment of this universal object, that they trouble not themselves as to the doctrines of the books which they peruse, provided they lead to worldly profit and a lucrative employment. This, at least, may be said to be the general feeling among the particular classes alluded to in Calcutta and its vicinity. Nor, as their minds are at present constituted, is any other result reasonably to be expected, though even this rude cultivation, and a happy combination of circumstances, may produce wholesome fruits; since even a general, though imperfect knowledge of the language of an enlightened European nation, among so numerous a class, can scarcely fail, especially when assisted by other means of improvement in active operation around them, of gradually, though perhaps slowly, awakening and enlarging their minds to more elevated pursuits. But, in the actual condition of their interests, if any impression were made by the books from which their school lessons are learned, it must soon be effaced for want of renovation, and by the deadening effects of sordid occupations."—LUSHINGTON, p. 217.

“ The union of natives at the Presidency with Europeans, as members of the society and of its committee, attracted notice in more remote quarters, and the king of Onde, a Mussulman prince, and the rajah of Bhurtpore, a Hindu chief of high rank and influence, well known as a former opponent to the British Government, each manifested their approbation of it and the views of the institution, by a donation of a thousand rupees. Indeed, it may be asserted without risk of contradiction, that European teaching has proved to be highly acceptable to the natives. The schools superintended by Europeans are above ten-fold more numerous than they were, as will be seen when the operations of the school society come to be considered. All the schools, however, of this description are dependant principally on the School Book Society, for the means of instruction. They could not be efficiently conducted unless they were provided by elementary books from its depository, which are, in point of fact, continually supplied. ‘ They receive the aid with thankfulness, and still look to the society for further assistance; in the expressive language of one of their pundits, they are *hungry* for the School Book Society’s publications, and full of impatience to receive them from the press.’ ”—LUSHINGTON, p. 165.

“ Still it is undeniable that an intercourse with Europeans has already worked a very remarkable change among the natives in this part of the country. Both Hindus and Mahomedans give a ready and efficient support to the School Book and School Societies, as above observed. The establishment among themselves of the *Vidyalaya*, manifests an anxiety for the dissemination of knowledge highly creditable to the wealthy and reputable Hindus who were concerned in it, and the readiness with which they have admitted European co-operation displays a degree of liberality for which our former acquaintance with the Hindu character had not prepared us. Indeed, it would appear a great revolution had taken place among that class, for the Rev. Mr. Adam states, that, ‘ a native gentleman, on whose authority he can rely, computes that about one-tenth of the reading native population of Calcutta have rejected idolatry; and of these his informant supposes about one third have rejected revelation altogether, though few of them profess to do so, and the remaining two-thirds are believers in the divine revelations of the *Beda*\*.’ ”

\* *Queries and Replies*, p. 23.



“The abjuration of idolatry is an important step towards radical improvement, notwithstanding the erroneous tenets which they still embrace. A wide field, then, is open in the Bengal provinces for the efforts of the most active promoters of education: and it seems that missionaries, uncoun tenanced by public authority, may here exercise their calling with safety, as far as political hazard is considered, provided they proceed with prudence and moderation. The sphere, however, is sufficiently ample, without going beyond our ancient territories. There is scope enough for benevolent exertions among the millions long subjected to the British rule, without travelling into our more distant and newly-acquired possessions. There is no necessity, because we have recently planted stations in Malwa and the adjacent countries, that we should at once begin to open schools there, or that missionaries should immediately follow the steps of our armies. There can be no dereliction of duty in allowing those regions to recover their tranquillity, and to become acquainted with our character and views, before we run the risk of exciting fresh confusion by the introduction of innovation, which the semi-barbarous inhabitants are unable correctly to appreciate.

“It is undeniable that the success of our endeavours for enlightening the Indian world has been great, beyond the hopes of the most sanguine. That the progress may keep pace with the favourable commencement, depends upon the prudence and circumspection with which further operations shall be conducted. So extraordinary has been the advance, and so widely has the illumination spread through the darkness, that a return to former obscurity seems almost impracticable. Besides, it cannot be consistent with the designs of Providence, that virtuous projects, undertaken as acceptable to his will, should be rendered nugatory in the midst of their utility, and promise of greater efficacy. Care is only requisite to prevent any misconception regarding our real views for the benefit of the people. With these precautions, the desire of knowledge being so deeply rooted, the march of improvement cannot fail to be steadily progressive, nor can it retrograde, unless India undergo some strange convulsion, or change its natural features.”—LUSHINGTON, p. 222.

“The English shawls, and different kinds of printed cottons *which are now common* in Hindustan, have hardly yet found their way into central India; nor is much European hardware sold in this province.”—MAICOLM'S *Memoir of Central India*. Vol. II., p. 79.

“In the schools which have been lately established in this part of the empire, of which there are at present nine established by the Church Missionary, and eleven by the Christian Knowledge Societies, some very unexpected facts have occurred. As all direct attempts to convert the children are disclaimed, the parents send them without scruple. But it is no less strange than true, that there is no objection made to the use of the Old and New Testament as a class book ; that so long as the teachers do not urge them to eat what will make them lose their caste, or to be baptized, or to curse their country’s gods, they readily consent to every thing else ; and not only Mussulmans but Brahmins stand by with perfect coolness, and listen, sometimes with apparent interest and pleasure, while the scholars, by the road side, are reading the stories of the creation and of Jesus Christ. Whether the children themselves may imbibe Christianity by such means, or whether they may suffer these truths to pass from their minds, as we allow the mythology which we learn at school to pass from ours, some further time is yet required to show ; but this, at least, I understand has been ascertained, that a more favourable opinion both of us and our religion has been, apparently, felt of late by many of those who have thus been made acquainted with its leading truths ; and that some have been heard to say, that they did not know till now that the English had “a caste, or a shaster.” You may imagine with what feelings I have entered the huts where these schools are held, on seeing a hundred poor little children seated on the ground writing their letters in sand, or their copies on banana leaves, coming out one after another to read the history of the good Samaritan, or of Joseph, proud of showing their knowledge, and many of them able to give a very good account of their studies.

“I have been even more gratified at seeing the confidence and respect evidently shown by the elder villagers towards the clergy who superintend these schools. I yesterday saw a man follow a German missionary, to request that he would look at his little boy’s copy ; and Mr. Hawtayne, the secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, seems as well known and received in the vicinity of his schools, as any English clergyman in his parish.

“I have not as yet received any visits from the wealthy natives, though some of them have made enquiries through my sircar, whether such visits would be agreeable to me, to which I, of course, answered, “extremely so.” Their progress in the imitation of our habits is very apparent, though

still the difference is great. None of them adopt our dress (indeed their own is so much more graceful, and so much better adapted to the climate, that they would act very absurdly in doing so). But their houses are adorned with vi-randas and Corinthian pillars; they have very handsome carriages, often built in England; they speak tolerable English, and they show a considerable liking for European society, where (which unfortunately is not always the case) they are encouraged, or permitted to frequent it on terms of any thing like equality. Few of them, however, will eat with us; and this opposes a bar to familiar intercourse, which must, even more than fashion and John Bullism, keep them at a distance.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 290.

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“ Since my last letter, I have become acquainted with some of the wealthy natives, of whom I spoke, and we are just returned from passing the evening at one of their country-houses. This is more like an Italian villa, than what one should have expected as the residence of Baboo Hurree Mohun Thakoor. Nor are his carriages, the furniture of his house, or the style of his conversation, of a character less decidedly European. He is a fine old man, who speaks English well, is well informed on most topics of general discussion, and talks with the appearance of much familiarity on Franklin, chemistry, natural philosophy, &c. His family is brahminical, and of singular purity of descent; but about 400 years ago, during the Mahomedan invasion of India, one of his ancestors having become polluted by the conquerors intruding into his zennanah, the race is conceived to have lost claim to the knotted cord, and the more rigid Brahmins will not eat with them. Being, however, one of the principal landholders in Bengal, and of a family so ancient, they still enjoy to a great degree the veneration of the common people, which the present head of the house appears to value,—since I can hardly reconcile in any other manner his philosophical studies and imitation of many European habits, with the daily and austere devotion which he is said to practise towards the Ganges (in which he bathes three times every twenty-four hours), and his veneration for all the other duties of his ancestors. He is now said, however, to be aiming at the dignity of rajah, a title which at present bears pretty nearly the same estimation here as a peerage in England, and is conferred by Government in almost the same manner.

“ He himself received us, at the head of a whole tribe of relations and descendants, on a handsome flight of steps, in a

splendid shawl, by way of mantle, with a large rosary of coral set in gold, leaning on an ebony crutch with a gold head. Of his grandsons, four very pretty boys, two were dressed like English children of the same age, but the round hat, jacket, and trowsers, by no means suited their dusky skins so well as the splendid brocade caftans and turbans, covered with diamonds, which the two elder wore. On the whole, both Emily and I have been greatly interested with the family, both now and during our previous interviews. We have several other eastern acquaintance, but none of equal talent, though several learned Moollahs, and one Persian doctor, of considerable reputed sanctity have called on me. The rajah of Calcutta, and one of the sons of Tippoo Sultan, do not choose, I am told, to call till I have left the fort, since they are not permitted to bring their silver sticks, led horses, carriages, and armed attendants within the ramparts. In all this, nothing strikes me more than the apparent indifference of these men to the measures employed for extending Christianity, and rendering it more conspicuous in Hindustan. They seem to think it only right and decent that the conquering nation should have its hierarchy and establishment on a handsome scale, and to regard with something little short of approbation, the means we take for instructing the children of the poor. One of their men of rank has absolutely promised to found a college at Burdwan, with one of our missionaries at its head, and where little children should be clothed and educated under his care. All this is very short indeed of embracing Christianity themselves, but it proves how completely those feelings are gone by, in Bengal at least, which made even the presence of a single missionary the occasion of tumult and alarm. I only hope that no imprudence, or over-forwardness on our part, will revive these angry feelings.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 293.

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“It is in the course of these rides that I generally visit the village schools, which are now numerous and flourishing under the care of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Church Missionary Society; of the institution and success of which I had a very inadequate notion before I arrived in India, and which I believe are but little known even at the present moment in England. Hearing all I had heard of the prejudices of the Hindus and Mussulmans, I certainly did not at all expect to find that the common people would, not only without objection but with the greatest

thankfulness, send their children to schools on Bell's system ; and they seem to be fully sensible of the advantages conferred by writing, arithmetic, and, above all, by a knowledge of English.

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There are now in Calcutta, and the surrounding villages, twenty boys' schools, containing from 60 to 120 each ; and twenty-three girls', each of twenty-five or thirty. The latter are under the management of a very clever young woman, who came out under the patronage of the Lancasterian School Society, but in consequence of their having pledged themselves to allow no Scripture lessons in their schools, and her preferring the system pursued by the Church of England, they withdrew her salary, and she must have left the country, had she not been fortunately taken up by the Church Missionary Society, one of whose missionaries she has since married. This branch of education is, however, now about to be put on a different footing. Some of the Hindus objected to men at all interfering in the girls' schools, or even that the school should be in the same building where men reside. We are, therefore, going to build a separate house for the school, which, with all the female schools established, or to be established in India, is to be managed by a committee of ladies. Lady Amherst has taken the office of patroness, and Emily, with several other ladies in Calcutta, are to form a committee. I have no doubt that things will go on prosperously if we can only get funds sufficient for the demand on us. The difficulties of Mrs. Wilson's undertaking, and the wonders she has brought about, will be better understood, when I mention, that two years ago, no single native female in Bengal could either write, read, or sew ; that the notion of teaching them these things, or of sending them to schools where they ran the risk of mixing with, and touching those of different castes, was, at first, regarded in about the same light as it would be in England to send a girl to learn tumbling and rope-dancing at Sadler's Wells ; and that even those who were most anxious for the improvement of the natives, and knew most of India, spoke of her as undertaking impossibilities. Mrs. Wilson's first care was to get a pretty good knowledge both of Hindustanee and the vulgar Bengalee ; her next, to circulate her proposals in these languages, urging on parents the advantages which their daughters would derive from her instructions, as servants, mothers, and mistresses of families, promising a strict regard to caste, and urging that, whether they became Christians or

no, it would do them no harm to become acquainted with the European shaster, and the rules of conduct which Europeans professed to follow towards each other. She went about a good deal herself among the wealthy native families, persuaded some of the leading Gooroos, or religious teachers, to honour her school with their presence and inspection, and all now goes on smoothly. Rhadacant Deb, one of the wealthiest natives in Calcutta, and regarded as the most austere and orthodox of the worshippers of the Ganges, bade, some time since, her pupils go on and prosper; and added, that 'if they practised the Sermon on the Mount, as well as they repeated it, he would choose all the handmaids for his daughters, and his wives, from the English school.' I do not say, nor do I suppose, that any large proportion of these children will become Christians. Even if they were to offer it now, we should tell them, 'Wait till you are of age, and get your father's leave :' and it is likely that many, on leaving school, will leave many of their good impressions behind them. But it is certain, that, whether they become Christians or no, they may be great gainers by what they learn; and it is probable that some, at least, in the present generation, and probably far more among *their* children, will be led to compare our system with their own, and seriously, and in a real zeal for their own salvation, to adopt the truth. In the mean time, I am assured that the pains now taken have materially increased the popularity of the English in Bengal. The peasants cannot help perceiving that the persons who mix with them for these purposes, have their worldly as well spiritual interest at heart. The children like the rewards, the clothing, and the praise which they receive; and in districts where, I am assured, three years ago, at the sight of an European they all ran away screaming to hide themselves, the clergymen and missionaries engaged in the superintendence of these little establishments are now as well known and as well received as an English pastor in his parish. Our chief hindrances are some deistical Brahmins, who have left their old religion, and desire to found a sect of their own, and some of those who are professedly engaged in the same work with ourselves, the Dissenters. These last are, indeed, very civil, and affect to rejoice at our success; but they, some how or other, cannot help interfering, and setting up rival schools close to ours; and they apparently find it easier to draw off our pupils, than to look out for fresh and more distant fields of exertion and enterprize."—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 300.

“Of the people of this country, and the manner in which they are governed, I have, as yet, hardly seen enough to form an opinion. I have seen enough, however, to find that the customs, the habits, and prejudices of the former are much misunderstood in England. We have all heard, for instance, of the humanity of the Hindus towards brute creatures, their horror of animal food, &c.; and you may be, perhaps, as much surprised as I was, to find that those who can afford it are hardly less carnivorous than ourselves; that even the purest Brahmins are allowed to eat mutton and venison; that fish is permitted to many castes, and pork to many others, and that, though they consider it as a grievous crime to kill a cow or bullock for the purpose of eating, yet they treat their draft oxen, no less than their horses, with a degree of barbarous severity which would turn an English hackney-coachman sick. Nor have their religious prejudices, and the unchangeableness of their habits, been less exaggerated. Some of the best-informed of their nation, with whom I have conversed, assure me that half their most remarkable customs of civil and domestic life are borrowed from their Mohamedan conquerors; and at present there is an obvious and increasing disposition to imitate the English in every thing, which has already led to very remarkable changes, and will, probably, to still more important. The wealthy natives now all affect to have their houses decorated with Corinthian pillars, and filled with English furniture. They drive the best horses and the most dashing carriages in Calcutta. Many of them speak English fluently, and are tolerably read in English literature; and the children of one of our friends I saw one day dressed in jackets and trowsers, with round hats, shoes and stockings. In the Bengalee newspapers, of which there are two or three, politics are canvassed with a bias, as I am told, inclining to whiggism, and one of their leading men gave a great dinner not long since, in honour of the Spanish Revolution. Among the lower orders the same feeling shows itself more beneficially, in a growing neglect of *caste*,—in not merely a willingness, but an anxiety, to send their children to our schools, and a desire to learn and speak English, which, if properly encouraged, might I verily believe, in fifty years time, make our language what the *Oordoo*, or *court* and *camp* language of the country (the Hindustanee), is at present. And though instances of actual conversion to Christianity are, as yet, very uncommon, yet the number of children, both male and female, who are now receiving a sort of Christian education, reading the New Tes-

tament, repeating the Lord's Prayer and Commandments, and all with the consent, or at least without the censure, of their parents or spiritual guides, have increased, during the last two years, to an amount which astonishes the old European residents, who were used to tremble at the name of a missionary, and shrink from the common duties of Christianity, lest they should give offence to their heathen neighbours. So far from that being a consequence of the zeal which has been lately shown, many of the Brahmins themselves express admiration of the morality of the Gospel, and profess to entertain a better opinion of the English since they have found that they too have a religion and a shaster. All that seems necessary for the best effects to follow is, to let things take their course, to make the missionaries discreet, to keep the Government as it now is, strictly neuter, and to place our confidence in a general diffusion of knowledge, and in making ourselves really useful to the temporal as well as spiritual interests of the people among whom we live."—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 306.

"It is obvious, even to a careless observer, that, in Bengal at least, the wealthier natives are imitating the English in very many particulars, in dress, buildings, and domestic economy, and that a change, either for evil or good, of a most extensive and remarkable nature, is fermenting in [the native mind; and I am convinced, from the success of the experiment so far as it has yet been tried, that nothing but the want of means prevents the introduction of schools, like those now supported in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and at Burdwan, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Church Missionary Society in every village of Bengal, not only with the concurrence, but with the gratitude of the natives."—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 330.

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"They are not, however, the great men only, who are inclined to copy the English; a desire of learning our language is almost universal even here, and in these waste bazaars and sheds, where I should never have expected any thing of the kind, the dressing-boxes, writing-cases, cutlery, chintzes, pistols, and fowling-pieces, engravings, and other English goods, or imitations of English, which are seen, evince how fond of them the middling and humbler classes are become. Here, too, a knowledge of the Christian Scriptures, in spite of the Abbé Dubois, is rapidly increasing. A Baptist missionary has established a circle of 26 day schools, containing more than 1000 boys, who all read the New Testament as



their daily task, without any objection being made, and had the Church of England Societies a missionary at present to spare, he might in a month double the number.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 342.

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### *Government and Character of the Hindus.*

“The character of the Rajpoots and their Government, Captain Macdonald represented in unfavourable terms. The people, who are grievously oppressed, and have been till very lately engaged in incessant war, have the vices of slaves added to those of robbers, with no more regard to truth than the natives of our own provinces; exceeding them in drunkenness, fondness for opium, and sensuality, while they have a bloodthirstiness, from which the great mass of Hindus are very far removed.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 70.

“Captain Macdonald agreed with Dr. Gibb, in speaking of the Mussulman Governors, as wiser and better than the Hindus; their religion, in fact, is better, and their education is something superior.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 74.

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“On the whole they are a lively, intelligent, and interesting people: of the upper classes, a very considerable proportion learn our language, read our books and our newspapers, and show a desire to court our society; the peasants are anxious to learn English; and though, certainly, very few of them have as yet embraced Christianity, I do not think their reluctance is more than might have been expected in any country, where a system so entirely different from that previously professed was offered, and offered by those of whom, as their conquerors, they may well entertain considerable jealousy. Their own religion is, indeed, a horrible one; far more so than I had conceived; it gives them no moral precepts; it encourages them in vice by the style of its ceremonies, and the character given of its deities; and by the institution of caste, it hardens their hearts against each other to a degree which is often most revolting. A traveller falls down sick in the streets of a village (I am mentioning a fact which happened ten days ago), nobody knows what caste he is of, therefore nobody goes near him lest they should become polluted; he wastes to death before the eyes of a whole community, unless the jackalls take courage, from his helpless state, to finish him a little sooner; and, perhaps, as happened in the case to which I alluded, the children are allowed to pelt

him with stones and mud. The man of whom I am speaking was found in this state, and taken care of by a passing European, but if he had died, his skeleton would have lain in the streets till the vultures carried it away, or the magistrates ordered it to be thrown into the river.

“A friend of mine, some months ago, found a miserable wretch, a groom out of employ, who had crept, sick of a dysentery, into his court-yard. He had remained there, in a corner, on the pavement, two days and nights. Perhaps twenty servants had been eating their meals daily within six yards of him, yet none had relieved him, none had so much as carried him into the shelter of one of the out-houses, nor had any taken the trouble to tell their master. When reproved for this, their answer was, ‘He was not our kinsman;’ ‘Whose business was it?’ ‘How did we know that the Sahib would like to be troubled?’ I do not say that these are every day instances. I hope and believe not; nor would I be understood as denying that alms are, to religious mendicants, given to a great amount in Bengal, or that several of the wealthy inhabitants, in what they consider good works, such as constructing public tanks, making roads to places of pilgrimage, building pagodas and ghâts, are liberal. I only mention these instances because none of those who heard them seemed to think them unusual or extraordinary; because in a Christian country I think they could not have happened; and because they naturally arise from the genius of the national religion, which, by the distinction which it establishes, makes men worse than indifferent to each other. Accordingly, many of the crimes which fall under the cognizance of the magistrate, and many of the ancient and sanctified customs of the Hindus, are marked with great cruelty. The De-coits, or gangs of robbers, who are common all over the country, though they seldom attack Europeans, continually torture, to force the peasants to bring out their little treasures.

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“I need say nothing of the burning of widows, but it is not so generally known that persons now alive remember human sacrifices in the holy places near Calcutta; and that a very respectable man of my acquaintance, himself, by accident, and without the means of interfering, witnessed one of a boy of fourteen or fifteen, in which nothing was so terrible as the perfect indifference with which the tears, prayers, and caresses even, which the poor victim lavished on his murderers, were regarded. After this, it is hardly worth while to go on to show that crimes of rapine, and violence, and theft are very

common, or that the tendency to lying is such that (as one of the judges here observed) ‘in a court of justice they cannot even tell a true story without spoiling it.’ But what I would chiefly urge is, that for all these horrors their system of religion is mainly answerable, inasmuch as whatever moral lessons their sacred books contain, and they are very few, are shut up from the mass of the people, while the direct tendency of their institutions is to evil. The national temper is decidedly good, gentle, and kind; they are sober, industrious, affectionate to their relations, generally speaking, faithful to their masters, easily attached by kindness and confidence, and in the case of the military oath are of admirable obedience, courage, and fidelity in life and death. But their morality does not extend beyond the reach of positive obligations; and where these do not exist, they are oppressive, cruel, treacherous, and every thing that is bad. We have heard much in England of their humanity to animals; I can only say that I have seen no tokens of it in Calcutta.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 313.

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“I believe I have said nothing of the Mahomedans, who are about as numerous here as the Protestants are in Ireland. They are, in personal appearance, a finer race than the Hindus; they are also more universally educated, and on the whole I think a better people, inasmuch as their faith is better. They are haughty and irascible, hostile to the English, as to those who have supplanted them in their sovereignty over the country, and notoriously oppressive and avaricious in their dealings with their idolatrous countrymen wherever they are yet in authority. They are, or are supposed to be, more honest, and to each other they are not uncharitable; but they are, I fear, less likely, at present, than the Hindus, to embrace Christianity, though some of them read our Scriptures; and I have heard one or two speak of Christians as of nearly the same religion with themselves. They have, however, contracted in this country many superstitions of castes and images, for which their western brethren, the Turks and Arabs, are ready to excommunicate them; and, what is more strange, many of them, equally in opposition to their own religion and that of the Hindus, are exceeding drunkards.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 317.

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“Since then I have been in countries of a wilder character, comparatively seldom trodden by Europeans, exempt during the greater part of their history from the Mussulman yoke,

and retaining, accordingly, a great deal of the simplicity of early Hindu manners, without much of that solemn and pompous uniformity which the conquests of the house of Timur seem to have impressed on all classes of their subjects. Yet here there is much which is interesting and curious. The people, who are admirably described (though I think in too favourable colours) by Malcolm in his 'Central India,' are certainly a lively, animated, and warlike race of men, though, chiefly from their wretched government, and partly from their still more wretched religion, there is hardly any vice, either of slaves or robbers, to which they do not seem addicted. Yet such a state of society is, at least, curious, and resembles more the picture of Abyssinia, as given by Bruce, than that of any other country which I have seen or read of; while here, too, there are many wild and woody scenes, which, though they want the glorious glaciers and peaks of the Himalaya, do not fall short in natural beauty of some of the loveliest glens which we went through, ten years ago, in North Wales; and some very remarkable ruins, which, though greatly inferior as works of art to the Mussulman remains in Hindustan proper, are yet more curious than them, as being more different from any thing which an European is accustomed to see or read of.

"One fact, indeed, during this journey, has been impressed on my mind very forcibly—that the character and situation of the natives of these great countries are exceedingly little known, and in many instances grossly misrepresented; not only by the English public in general, but by a great proportion of those also who, though they have been in India, have taken their views of its population, manners, and productions from Calcutta, or at most from Bengal. I had always heard, and fully believed till I came to India, that it was a grievous crime, in the opinion of the Brahmins, to eat the flesh or shed the blood of any living creature whatever. I have now myself seen Brahmins of the highest caste cut off the heads of goats as a sacrifice to Doorga; and I know, from the testimony of Brahmins as well as from other sources, that not only hecatombs of animals are often offered in this manner as a most meritorious act (a rajah, about twenty-five years back, offered sixty thousand in one fortnight), but that any person, Brahmins not excepted, eats readily of the flesh of whatever has been offered up to one of their divinities, while among almost all the other castes, mutton, pork, venison, fish, any thing but beef and fowls, are

consumed as readily as in Europe.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 378.

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“ But of all idolatries which I have ever read or heard of, the religion of the Hindus, in which I have taken some pains to inform myself, really appears to me the worst, both in the degrading notions which it gives of the Deity ; in the endless round of its burdensome ceremonies, which occupy the time and distract the thoughts, without either instructing or interesting its votaries ; in the filthy acts of uncleanness and cruelty, not only permitted, but enjoined, and inseparably interwoven with those ceremonies ; in the system of castes, a system which tends, more than any thing else the devil has yet invented, to destroy the feelings of general benevolence, and to make nine-tenths of mankind the hopeless slaves of the remainder ; and in the total absence of any popular system of morals, or any single lesson which the people at large ever hear, to live virtuously and do good to each other. I do not say, indeed, that there are not some scattered lessons of this kind to be found in their ancient books ; but those books are neither accessible to the people at large, nor are these last permitted to read them ; and in general all the sins that a sudra is taught to fear are, killing a cow, offending a Brahmin, or neglecting one of the many frivolous rites by which their deities are supposed to be conciliated. Accordingly, though the general sobriety of the Hindus (a virtue which they possess in common with most inhabitants of warm climates) affords a very great facility to the maintenance of public order and decorum, I really never have met with a race of men whose standard of morality is so low, who feel so little apparent shame on being detected in a falsehood, or so little interest in the sufferings of a neighbour, not being of their own caste or family ; whose ordinary and familiar conversation is so licentious ; or, in the wilder and more lawless districts, who shed blood with so little repugnance. The good qualities which there are among them (and thank God there is a great deal of good among them still) are, in no instance that I am aware of, connected with, or arising out of, their religion, since it is in no instance to good deeds or virtuous habits of life that the future rewards in which they believe are promised. Their bravery, their fidelity to their employers, their temperance, and (wherever they are found) their humanity, and gentleness of disposition, appear to arise exclusively from a naturally happy temperament, from an honourable pride in their own renown and the

renown of their ancestors, and from the goodness of God, who seems unwilling that his image should be entirely defaced, even in the midst of the grossest error. The Mussulmans have a far better creed, and, though they seldom either like the English or are liked by them, I am inclined to think are, on the whole, a better people. Yet even with them, the forms of their worship have a natural tendency to make men hypocrites, and the overweening contempt with which they are inspired for all the world beside, the degradation of their women by the system of polygamy, and the detestable crimes which, owing to this degradation, are almost universal, are such as, even if I had no ulterior hope, would make me anxious to attract them to a better or more harmless system.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 384.

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“A very large proportion of the Talliars are themselves thieves, all the Kawellgars are themselves robbers exempting them, and many of them are murderers; and though they are now afraid to act openly, there is no doubt that many of them still secretly follow their former practices. Many potails and curnams also harbour thieves, so that no traveller can pass through the ceded districts without being robbed, who does not employ either his own servants or those of the village to watch at night; and even this precaution is very often ineffectual. Many offenders are taken, but great numbers also escape, for connivance must be expected among the Kawillgars and the Talliars, who are themselves thieves, and the inhabitants are often backward in giving information, from the fear of *assassination, which was formerly very common*, and sometimes happens on such occasions.”—SIR T. MUNRO, in *Judicial Selections*, p. 131 to 135.

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“The immense colossus of Hindu superstition cannot be pretended to affect more than its own votaries; and were we even to admit the institution of castes to be effectual in repressing the progress of Hindu improvement, still, how is it to obstruct others, who have no such fetters to bind them? If the paths of prosperity were really open, we might, at least, expect to see them entered by those who have neither castes nor prejudices, nor Brahmins to oppose their progress; but, unhappily, an universal pressure of overwhelming force bears down all alike. Men of caste and men of no caste are equally its victims, and exhibit one uniform picture of pauperism and degradation. Driven, by the irresistible rigour

of their rules, to practise evasion, fraud, and duplicity, they are equally lost to the feelings of patriotism. Indifference to life and its concerns, indolence and crime, complete the series of effects; and a people thus loaded with oppression, have these its most ordinary symptoms imputed to them, as indelible vices of their own natural disposition and character. In the charge of innate depravity, so inconsiderately cast on native Indians, we have, consequently, a second error, to which calumny and injustice are superadded; and the last stage of this shallow reasoning becomes a greater reproach to us even than the first.

“What, moreover, would be the state of the Hindus, if tied down, as represented, by religious restraint, at every step, with fourteen or fifteen millions of unfettered people interspersed among them, and the ways of prosperity really open? Is it not obvious, that the latter would soon fill every branch of industry, and, increasing their numbers in proportion, gradually supplant, and, perhaps, ultimately extinguish the useless drones of the community? The population, however, of India, was, long previous to the introduction of the British Government, precisely what we now find it—a combined assemblage of Hindus, Mussulmans, &c., whilst the stationary state of the tribes, both as to numbers and poverty, betrays the inflexibility of a common rigour, to which the workers of this prolific hive are equally exposed, and proves that their united labour only yields its sweets to become the prey of an insatiate spoiler.

“But further refutation is unnecessary, since the basis of the opposite argument is proved to be a chimerical existence—a mere creation of the imagination—or, at best, the shadow of a departed substance; for if we admit that this state of society ever did exist, we have recorded proof that it could not have long continued. Indeed, the utter unsuitableness of a quadruple division of castes, particularly under a rigorous limitation of their respective duties, to answer the general purposes and wants of any great community, must be apparent to every reasoning mind. And the early and long-continued intermixture of classes, coupled with the known fact of the lower or mixed tribes having at all times fully occupied the different branches of industry, are sufficient reasons to account for the higher tribes being now absorbed, or nearly so, among their innumerable descendants of mixed birth; neither can we wonder at persons of comparative inutility in a society, however guarded by rank or privileges, being ultimately supplanted by others, whose uses and services are

not to be dispensed with.”—*India, or Facts, &c.*, by R. RICKARDS, Esq., Part I., p. 41.

### *British Administration of India.*

“ Yet even this was exceeded by a spectacle of a kind almost similar, which Benares offered on another occasion. Government had then, unadvisedly, imposed a house-tax of a very unpopular character, both from its amount and its novelty. To this the natives objected, that they recognised, in their British rulers, the same rights which had been exercised by the Moguls—that the land-tax was theirs, and that they could impose duties on commodities going to market or for exportation, but that their houses were their own—that they had never been intermeddled with in any but their landed property, and commodities used in traffic—and that the same power which now imposes a heavy and unheard of tax on their dwellings, might do the same next year on their children and themselves. These considerations, though backed by strong representation from the magistrates, produced no effect in Calcutta, on which the whole population of Benares and its neighbourhood determined to sit ‘ dhurna ’ till their grievances were redressed.

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I do not know whether there is any example under their ancient princes, of a considerable portion of the people taking this strange method of remonstrance against oppression; but in this case it was done with great resolution, and surprising concert and unanimity. Some of the leading Brahmins sent written hand-bills to the wards in Benares nearest the College, and to some of the adjoining villages, declaring, very shortly, the causes and necessity of the measures which they were about to adopt; calling on all lovers of their country and national creed to join in it; and commanding, under many bitter curses, every person who received it to forward it to his next neighbour. Accordingly, it flew over the country like the fiery cross in the ‘ Lady of the Lake,’ and three days after it was issued, and before Government were in the least apprised of the plan, above three hundred thousand persons, as it is said, deserted their houses—shut up their shops—suspended the labour of their farms—forbore to light fires—dress victuals—many of them even to eat, and sat down, with folded arms and drooping heads, like so many sheep, on the plain which surrounds Benares.



“The Local Government were exceedingly perplexed. There was the chance that very many of these strange beings would really perish, either from their obstinacy or the diseases which they would contract in their present situation. There was a probability that famine would ensue from the interruption of agricultural labours at the most critical time of the year. There was a certainty that the revenue would suffer very materially from this total cessation of all traffic; and it might even be apprehended that their despair, and the excitement occasioned by such a display of physical force, would lead them to far stronger demonstrations of discontent than that of sitting ‘dhurna.’ On the other hand, the Authorities of Benares neither were permitted, nor would it have been expedient, to yield to such a demand so urged. They conducted themselves with great prudence and good temper. Many of the natives appeared to expect, and the Brahmins perhaps hoped, that they would still further outrage the feelings of the people, by violently suppressing their assemblage. They did no such thing, but coolly reasoned with some of the ring-leaders on the impossibility that Government should yield to remonstrances so enforced. They, however, told them expressly, in answer to their inquiries, that if they chose to sit ‘dhurna’ it was their own affair, and so long as they only injured themselves, and were peaceable in their behaviour to others, Government would not meddle with them; they did not omit, however, to bring a strong body of Europeans, from Dineapoor and Ghazepoor, to the neighbouring cantonment, without appearing to watch the conduct of the natives, or putting it into their heads that they suspected them of violent intentions. At last the multitude began to grow very hungry, and a thunder-shower, which fell, made them wet, cold, and uncomfortable. Some of the party proposed a change of operations, and that a deputation of ten thousand should be sent to address the Governor-General personally. This was eagerly carried by a majority heartily tired of their situation; and the next question was, how these men should be maintained during their journey, when one leading Brahmin proposed a tax on houses. A string was here struck, which made the whole instrument jar—‘a tax on houses’—if we are to pay a tax on houses after all, we might as well have remained on good terms with our Government, sitting under our vines and fig trees, and neither hungry nor rheumatic. A great number caught at the excuse for a rupture, and rose to go home, but the remainder determined that all should go to the Governor,

every man at his own charge. The seeds of disunion were already sown, and the majority absented themselves from the muster which was held three days after. From ten to twenty thousand, however, really assembled, with such provisions as they could collect, and began their march, still unmolested by the magistrates, whose whole conduct was wise and merciful; they well calculated that provisions would soon fall short, and travelling become wearisome, and merely watched their motions, at some distance, with a corps of cavalry. They knew that hunger would make them plunder, and that the hilly and jungly road from Benares to the neighbourhood of Burdwan afforded few facilities for the subsistence of so great a multitude. Accordingly, in a few days, they melted away to so small a number, that the remainder were ashamed to proceed. The Supreme Government followed up *their success* most wisely, by a repeal of the obnoxious tax; and thus ended a disturbance which, if it had been harshly or improperly managed, might have put all India in a flame.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. I., p. 325.

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“Our present condition is one of apparent repose, but full of danger. With the means we had at our command, the work of force was comparatively easy: the liberality of our Government gave grace to conquest, and men were, for the moment, satisfied to be at the feet of generous and humane conquerors. Wearied with a state of continued warfare and anarchy, they hardly regretted even the loss of power—halcyon days were anticipated, and men prostrated themselves in hopes of elevation. All these impressions, made by the combined efforts of power, humanity, and fortune, were improved to the utmost by the character of our first measures. The agents of Government were, generally, individuals who had acquired a name in the scene in which they were employed: they were unfettered by rules, and their acts were adapted to soothe the passions, and accord with the habits and prejudices of those whom they had to conciliate, or to reduce to obedience. But there are many causes which operate to make a period like this one of short duration, and the change to a colder system of policy, and the introduction of our laws and regulations into countries immediately dependent upon us, naturally excite agitation and alarm. It is the hour in which men awake from a dream. Disgust and discontent succeed to terror and admiration, and the princes, the chiefs, and all who had enjoyed rank or influence, see nothing but a system dooming them to immediate

decline and ultimate annihilation\*.”—MALCOLM’S *Central India*, Vol. II., p. 364.

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“ In all these points there is, indeed, great room for improvement. I do not by any means assent to the pictures of depravity and general worthlessness which some have drawn of the Hindus. They are decidedly, by nature, a mild, pleasing, and intelligent race; sober, parsimonious, and, where an object is held out to them, most industrious and persevering. But the magistrates and lawyers all agree, that in no country are lying and perjury so common, and so little regarded. Notwithstanding the apparent mildness of their manners, the criminal calendar is generally as full as in Ireland, with gang-robberies, setting fire to buildings, stacks, &c. &c.; and the number of children who are decoyed aside, and murdered, for the sake of their ornaments, Lord Amherst assures me, is dreadful. Yet in all these points a gradual amelioration is said to be perceptible; and I am assured that there is no ground whatever for the assertion, that the people are become less innocent or prosperous under British administration. In Bengal, at least in this neighbourhood, I am assured by the missionaries, who, as speaking the language, and associating with the lower classes, are by far the best judges, that the English Government is popular. They are, in fact, lightly taxed (though that taxation is clumsily arranged, and liable to considerable abuse, from the extortions of the native *Aûmeens* and *Chokeydars*); they have no military conscription, or forced services; they live in great security from the march of armies, &c.; and, above all, they some of them recollect in their own country, and all of them may hear or witness in the case of their neighbours in Oude and the Burman empire, how very differently all these things are managed under the Hindoo and Mahomedan sovereignties.

“ One very wise and liberal measure of Government has been the appropriation of all the internal transit duties to the

\* That the present form of governing India, which wholly excludes the people from all share in their own administration, reducing them to the condition of mere tax-payers, is and must be unpopular there can be little doubt. But the glowing picture of danger here given is about as accurate as the picture of the habits, manners, and character, incapacity of advancement incivilisation, or of consuming European products, &c., which the same writer drew, and with equal confidence, in 1813. Sir John should have recollected, that the sentiments which he has transcribed, in his printed work, as applicable to all India, were limited by him, in 1819, to *five years*, and to a very small portion of India. *Seven Years*, have since transpired, and although the country in question has not had the advantage of *his personal superintendence*, there has been neither insurrection or rebellion in it.

construction of roads and bridges, and the improvement of the towns where they are levied\*. A more popular, however, and I believe better policy, would have been to remit those duties altogether. They are precisely the things in which the Chokeydars, and other underlings, are most fraudulent and oppressive. Twice as much is extorted by these fellows from the poor country people as they are authorised to receive, and of what is authorised, only a moderate part finds its way into the Company's coffers. Under such circumstances it might, perhaps, be better to remove all restraints from internal intercourse and traffic, to make the people industrious and prosperous, and to be assured that improvements would follow by degrees, in proportion as they became necessary or desirable. Lord Cornwallis's famous settlement of the zemindary rents in Bengal, is often severely censured here, as not sufficiently protecting the ryots, and depriving the Government of all advantage from the improvements of the territory. They who reason thus, have, apparently, forgotten that, without some such settlement, those improvements would never have taken place at all; that almost every zemindary which is brought to the hammer (and they are pretty numerous) is divided and subdivided, each successive sale, among smaller proprietors, and that the progress is manifestly going on to a minute division of the soil among the actual cultivators, and subject to no other burdens than a fixed and very moderate quit rent—a state of things by no means undesirable in a nation, and which only needs to be corrected in its possible excess by a law of primogeniture; and by encouraging, instead of forbidding, the purchase of lands by the English. On the desirableness of this last measure, as the most probable means of improving the country and attaching the peasantry to our Government, I find, in Calcutta, little difference of opinion. All the restriction which seems necessary is, that the collectors of the Company's taxes shall not be allowed to purchase lands within the limits of their districts: and if the same law were extended to their Hindu and Mussulman deputies, a considerable source of oppression which now exists would be dried up, or greatly mitigated."—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 306.

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"The English in the upper provinces are, of course, thinly scattered, in proportion either to the multitude of the heathen or the extent of territory. They are, however, more

\* This wise and liberal measure has, we believe, been disapproved of by the home authorities, and cancelled. The Bishop's panegyric was therefore premature.

numerous than I expected, though there are very few, indeed, who are not in the civil or military employ of Government. The indigo planters are chiefly confined to Bengal, and I have no wish that their number should increase in India. They are always quarrelling with, and oppressing the natives, and have done much in those districts where they abound, to sink the English character in native eyes. Indeed, the general conduct of the lower order of Europeans in India is such, as to show the absurdity of the system of free colonization which W—— is mad about.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 369.

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“ But though I fully believe the influence of Britain to have been honestly employed for the benefit of India, and to have really produced great good to the country and its inhabitants, I have not been led to believe that our Government is generally popular, or advancing towards popularity. It is, perhaps, impossible that we should be so in any great degree ; yet I really think there are some causes of discontent which it is in our own power, and which it is our duty to remove or diminish.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 371.

“ In this work, thank God, in those parts of India which I have visited, a beginning has been made, and a degree of success obtained, at least commensurate to the few years during which our missionaries have laboured ; and it is still going on in the best and safest way, as the work of private persons alone ; and although not forbidden, in no degree encouraged by Government. In the meantime, and as an useful auxiliary to the missionaries, the establishment of elementary schools, for the lower classes and for females, is going on to a very great extent, and might be carried to any conceivable extent to which our pecuniary means would carry us. Nor is there any measure from which I anticipate more speedy benefit than the elevation of the rising generation of females to their natural rank in society, and giving them (which is all that, in any of our schools, we as yet venture to give), the lessons of general morality extracted from the Gospel, without any direct religious instruction. These schools, such of them at least as I have any concern with, are carried on without any help from Government. Government has, however, been very liberal in its grants, both to a Society for National Education, and in the institution and support of two Colleges of Hindu students of riper age, the one at Benares, the other at Calcutta. But I do not think any of these Institutions, in the way after which they are at present conducted, likely to do much good. In the elementary schools supported

by the former, through a very causeless and ridiculous fear of giving offence to the natives, they have forbidden the use of the Scriptures, or any extracts from them, though the moral lessons of the Gospel are read by all Hindus who can get hold of them, without scruple, and with much attention ; and though their exclusion is tantamount to excluding all moral instructions from their schools, the Hindu sacred writings have nothing of the kind, and if they had, being shut up from the majority of the people by the double fence of a dead language, and an actual prohibition to read them, as too holy for common eyes or ears. The defects of the latter will appear, when I have told you that the actual state of Hindu and Mussulman literature, *mutatis mutandis*, very nearly resembles what the literature of Europe was before the time of Galileo, Copernicus, and Bacon. The Mussulmans take their logic from Aristotle, filtered through many successive translations and commentaries ; and their metaphysical system is professedly derived from Plato (' Filatoun'). The Hindus have systems not very dissimilar from these, though, I am told, of greater length, and more intricacy ; but the studies in which they spend most of their time are the acquisition of the Sanscrit, and the endless refinements of its grammar, prosody, and poetry. Both have the same natural philosophy, which is also that of Aristotle in zoology and botany, and Ptolemy in astronomy, for which the Hindus have forsaken their more ancient notions of the seven seas, the six earths, and the flat base of Padalon, supported on the back of a tortoise. By the science which they now possess, they are some of them able to foretell an eclipse, or compose an almanack ; and many of them derive some little pecuniary advantage from pretensions to judicial astrology. In medicine and chemistry they are just sufficiently advanced to talk of substances being moist, dry, hot, &c., in the third or fourth degree ; to dissuade from letting blood, or physicing, on a Tuesday, or under a particular aspect of the heavens, and to be eager in their pursuit of the philosopher's stone, and the elixir of immortality.

" The task of enlightening the studious youth of such a nation would seem to be a tolerably straight-forward one. But though, for the college in Calcutta (not Bishop's College remember, but the Vidalaya, or Hindu College), an expensive set of instruments has been sent out, and it seems intended that the natural sciences should be studied there, the managers of the present institution take care that their boys should have as little time as possible for such pursuits, by

requiring from them all, without exception, a laborious study of Sanscrit, and all the useless, and worse than useless literature of their ancestors. A good deal of this has been charged (and in some little degree charged with justice) against the exclusive attention paid to Greek and logic, till lately in Oxford. But in Oxford we have never been guilty (since a better system was known in the world at large) of teaching the physics of Aristotle, however we may have paid an excessive attention to his metaphysics and dialectics.

“In Benares, however, I found in the institution supported by Government, a professor lecturing on astronomy after the system of Ptolemy and Albumazar, while one of the most forward boys was at the pains of casting my horoscope; and the majority of the school were toiling at Sanscrit grammar. And yet the day before, in the same holy city, I had visited another college, founded lately by a wealthy Hindu banker, and entrusted by him to the management of the Church Missionary Society, in which, besides a grammatical knowledge of the Hindustanee language, as well as Persian and Arabic, the senior boys could pass a good examination in English grammar, in Hume’s History of England, Joyce’s Scientific Dialogues, the use of the globes, and the principal facts and moral precepts of the Gospel, most of them writing beautifully in the Persian, and very tolerably in the English character, and excelling most boys I have met with in the accuracy and readiness of their arithmetic. The English officer who is now in charge of the Benares Vidyalaya is a clever and candid young man, and under him I look forward to much improvement. . . . Ram Mohun Roy, a learned native, who has sometimes been called, though I fear without reason, a Christian, remonstrated against this system last year, in a paper which he sent me to be put into Lord Amherst’s hands, and which, for its good English, good sense, and forcible arguments, is a real curiosity, as coming from an Asiatic. I have not since been in Calcutta, and know not whether any improvement has occurred in consequence. But from the unbounded attachment to Sanscrit literature displayed by some of those who chiefly manage those affairs, I have no great expectation of the kind. Of the value of the acquirements which so much is sacrificed to retain, I can only judge from translations, and they certainly do not seem to me worth picking out of the rubbish under which they were sinking. Some of the poetry of the Mahabart I am told is good, and I think a good deal of the Ramayuna pretty. But no work has yet been produced

which even pretends to be authentic history. No useful discoveries in science are, I believe, so much as expected, and I have no great sympathy with those students who value a worthless tract, merely because it calls itself old, or a language which teaches nothing, for the sake of its copiousness and intricacy. If I were to run wild after oriental learning, I should certainly follow that of the Mussulmans, whose histories seem really very much like those of Europe, and whose poetry, so far as I am yet able to judge, has hardly had justice done to it in the ultra flowery translations which have appeared in the West.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 386.

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“The greatest evil of the land here, as elsewhere in India, is the system of the Adowlut Courts—their elaborate and intricate machinery—their intolerant and expensive delays, and the severity of their debtor and creditor laws. Even in the Adowlut, however, a very essential improvement had been introduced by Mr. Elphinstone, in discarding the Persian language, and appointing all proceedings to be in that of Guzerat. Still there remained many evils; and, in a land so eaten up by poverty on the one hand and usury on the other, the most calamitous results continually followed, and the most bitter indignation was often excited, by the judgments, ejectments, and other acts of the Courts, which, though intended only to do justice between man and man, yet frequently depopulated villages—undid ancient families—pulled down men’s hereditary and long-possessed houses over their heads, and made the judges hated and feared by the great body of the people, as practising severities in the recovery of private debts, which none of the Native Governors, however otherwise oppressive, either ventured to do or thought of doing. One good effect has, indeed, followed,—that by making a debt more easy to recover, the rate of interest has been lessened. But this is a poor compensation for the evils of a system which, to pay a debt, no matter how contracted, strips the weaver of his loom, the husbandman of his plough, and pulls the roof from the castle of a feudal chieftain; and which, when a village is once abandoned by its inhabitants in a time of famine, makes it next to impossible for those inhabitants, who are all more or less in debt, to return, in better times, to their houses and lands again.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 145.

“They have not had above three slight showers during the last twelve months! This, of course, will account for the greater part of their present distress; but I have been



sorry to think that the English taxes are really exorbitant here, and the mode of collection short-sighted and oppressive. Certainly the people are more inferior, in apparent comfort, to those of Rohilchund, Bahar, and even Onde, than a long drought will of itself account for.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. I., p. 541.

“The population did not seem great, but the few villages which we saw were apparently in good condition and repair, and the whole afforded so pleasing a picture of industry, and was so much superior to any thing which I had been led to expect in Rajpootana, or which I had seen in the Company’s territory since leaving the southern parts of Rohilchund, that I was led to suppose that either the rajah of Bhurtpoor was an extremely exemplary and parental Governor, or that the system of management adopted in the British provinces was in some way or other less favourable to the improvement and happiness of the country than that of some of the Native states.

“What the old Jemcautdar of Khanwah said, as to the rent he paid to Government, and the answers which he made to some questions put to him, were not however such as would lead one to expect an industrious and prosperous peasantry. No certain rent is fixed by the Government, but the State takes every year what it thinks fit, leaving only what in its discretion it regards as a sufficient maintenance for the zemindars and ryots. This is pretty nearly the system which has produced such ruinous effects in Onde, but which is of course tempered in these smaller states by the facility of bringing complaints to the ear of the Sovereign; by the want of power in the Sovereign himself to withstand any general rising to which his tyranny might, in the long run, drive his subjects; and, most of all, by the immediate and perceptible loss of income which he would sustain, if, by dealing too hard with any particular village, he made its inhabitants emigrate to the territories of his neighbour. Nor must the old hereditary attachment be lost sight of, which makes the rulers or subjects of a Jât or Rajpoot state regard each other as kindred, and feel a pride, the one in the power and splendour of a chief who is the head of his clan, the other in the numbers and prosperity of those who constitute his society and court in time of peace, and in war his only army.”—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. I., p. 603.

“Ceylon is a noble island, in all natural riches, but I have seldom seen a country for which man has done so little. The present Governor, Sir Edward Barnes, is an able and active man, whose measures seem to have been well directed for

the interest of the people, and he has certainly done much for Ceylon."—BISHOP HEBER, Vol. II., p. 423.

“The number of British judges and magistrates here, to dispense justice to this multitude, is about one hundred and fifty, dispersed throughout an immense area. The execution of so arduous a duty, by so small a number, being physically impossible, and appalling enough of itself, think then how the duty must necessarily be performed, when the greater number of administrators are scarcely more than boys, having no particular turn, or talent, for judicial pursuits, and without any judicial education or training whatever. I am afraid to say more upon the subject, even under the protection of your Lordship’s confidence. To meet imperious necessity, with the show, at least, of physical means, native agency has been called in, under the name of *Sudder Umeens* and *Moonsifs*, to deal with all subordinate claims as they could; and, as the load has still increased, these means have been considered the only practical resource to resort to, and extend more and more. Thus, instead of adding number, with more knowledge and talent, to the system, in order to meet the increasing exigencies, resort has been had to more profound and almost invincible ignorance—to an entire absence of all useful and enlightened education and its sister talent; and in place of the honest integrity of British youth, though uninstructed and unpractised in judicial knowledge and pursuits, the only acquisition which has been made, is a vast increase of cunning, intrigue, and corruption, in the lower departments of justice.

“Such is the state of business in these Courts (the Company’s), the uncertainty of the system of law, and the delay and vexations of a protracted attendance, that many persons prefer to abandon their just demands rather than pursue them. These are evils which must naturally increase with the increasing population of the Hindu-British dominions, and are much aggravated by the accumulated arrear of cases in most of these Courts.

“The inexperience of the judges, and the badness of the law, are the principal causes of the expense, uncertainty, and delay of the present course, and arise from the too early employment, in judicial offices, of very young and inexperienced men, who, having never studied law upon any system, must necessarily be unacquainted, for the most part, with its principles and practice; and, as matters are now contrived, have very little opportunity of profiting by the example

of others, who have not long preceded them in the same helpless condition. There is little or no continuity of knowledge and experience in the present system. The young judge must set off with a small stock in hand—he leaves no ear-witnessing successor to the hard-earned experience which he afterwards acquires. This begets the necessity, and has enforced the providing of checks upon checks, not only to correct the final errors, but even to guide the interlocutory proceedings of such magistrates; thence the cumbrous machinery, box within box, appeal upon appeal, which overloads the proceedings of the Mofussil Courts, and leads to insuperable vexations and delays, with proportionable expense. There is seldom any tolerable certainty even when a cause is to be heard, and the parties are accustomed to retain agents, at monthly salaries, to give them information of it.”—CHIEF JUSTICE EAST’S *Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*.

“Whatever mode of settlement may be finally adopted, the inhabitants, but particularly the ryots, must suffer great inconvenience, and even distress, from the judicial regulations as they now stand. The evils, which they are likely to increase rather than to diminish, are delay, vexation, bribery, and wrong decisions. The delay will necessarily arise from the forms, which not only the Judge but the Native Commissioners must adhere to in their proceedings, and from all the principal, and a great part of even the petty suits being brought before the Judge,” &c., &c.—SIR THOMAS MUNRO, in *Revenue Selections*.

“They have, it is true, when under their native rulers, often shown a strong desire to be transferred to our dominions, but this feeling arose from temporary causes,—the immediate pressure of a weak and rapacious Government, and the hope of bettering themselves by a change. But they have now tried our Government, and found that, although they are protected in their property, they have lost many of the emoluments which they derived from a lax revenue system under their Native Chiefs, and have also lost much of their former authority and consideration among the inhabitants, by the establishment of our Judicial Courts and European Magistrates and Collectors. The hope of recovering their former rank and influence would, therefore, render a great part of them well disposed to favour any plan for our overthrow. We delude ourselves, if we believe that gratitude for the protection they have received, or attachment to our mild Government, would induce any considerable body of the people to

side with us in a struggle with a native army.”—*Extract from* SIR T. MUNRO’S *Minute*, dated *Fort St. George*, 12th April, 1822.

“In January, 1821, some anonymous letters were addressed to me, of rather an extraordinary description; they were remarkably well written. I have never, indeed, read a more able popular attack on the progress of the English to the great power they have attained in India; the writer warned me of the public mind which, however unperceived, was in action against us; he referred me to the history of India, to discover if that was a country whose inhabitants it was safe to press to the dust, as it appeared our intention to do. In conclusion, he advised me that we should, if we desired permanence to our power, associate the Princes and Chiefs of the natives in our Empire. The above is the substance of these letters. Two, similar in purport, were sent to Tantia Jogh, the Minister of Holkar, whom they reproached with base subservience to our designs. Copies of these productions were no doubt circulated by the author, who proclaimed himself of no mean rank, and offered, on certain terms, to make himself known; I, however, treated him and his letters with neglect, as I did many papers of the same description.”—*Extract of a Minute by* SIR J. MALCOLM.

### *Account of the Manufacture of Salt in Bengal, by an Eye-witness.*

I may, perhaps, with propriety say a few words on the system adopted by the Government Agents in the manufacture of salt. No other system than the one in use for the supply of salt for Bengal could be adopted, to ensure a supply, so long as the people are in their present state; nevertheless the evils attending it are so many, that no pains should be spared to endeavour to introduce the European mode, as far as regards the application of simple machines, such as pumps, troughs, and vats, the subdivision of labour, and the establishment of large manufactories, which would assuredly reduce the number of men employed in the manufacture as well as the influence of the Dewan, or native agent. At present the enormous number of separate contracts, and the immense extent of the agency districts, make it indispensable to employ a person of this description; and the oppression exercised by him upon the poor Molungees, or salt manufacturers, is horrible beyond any thing. When-

ever a ryot (a peasant), in the salt districts, becomes so much embarrassed as to be able to go on no longer without extraordinary aid, he is tempted by the Salt Agent's Dewan, to take the Company's advances for salt. Woe be to him, for from that moment he is a bondsman for life, without the possibility of extrication ! By cheating him in the weight of the salt delivered, and squeezing him in various ways, he is made invariably to fall short of his deliveries, by his contract ; further extortions are made for the pretended concealment of this, and usurious interest charged till the following season, when, from the advances of the latter, the debts of the former are deducted. It is easy to see to what a state of dependance and abject slavery the Dewan soon reduces the unfortunate wretch whose necessities induced him to take the first fatal advance. He indeed makes him believe, that his children's children are bound for his debt, to the Government ; and his victim, ground by oppression to the last extremity, is forced to get his morsel of rice, by selling the salt, which he had agreed to deliver to the Agent, to smugglers.

In some of the districts, the evils of the system being well known to the Agent, he is obliged, in mercy, indirectly to encourage the sale of salt, by the Molungees, to smugglers, beyond the quantity they engage to deliver to him, as the only means of enabling people to live, or to deliver to him what they had agreed to do.

A great source of loss to Government is the tendency of the Molungees to escape, in spite of the vigilance of the Dewan ; and as he is responsible for the advances made, he, in order to save himself, reports a certain number carried away by tigers every year. It is well known that the tigers do carry off a few every year, but it is equally well known that nine-tenths of those reported to have been carried off by tigers, have made their escape.

Could large manufactories for salt be established, they would of course be superintended by respectable men, and the Dewan system of small separate contracts, extending over a district of an hundred miles, be much curtailed, and thus would the abominable oppression of the Molungees, by the Dewan system, be mitigated.

It will now be seen why ——— could not procure men to make salt. He began to collect them in the usual way, but when they found that it was to make salt that he required their services, the reports they made to their brethren prevented his getting any more, and those he had, very

reluctantly put their hand to any thing that appeared to assimilate them with Molungees. They were suspicious of some trick that might entrap them, and they seemed to be perfectly aware of the degraded state of the Molungees, and fearful of being contaminated by an association in any way with them or their trade. They said, "We are free men, we have come to cut jungle (forest), to make bunds (embankments), and to cultivate the land. Had we made up our minds to make salt, we should have done that at our own homes, but we are not in distress, nor do we desire to take the Company's advance."

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*Free Settlement of British Subjects in Ceylon.*

GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENT.

Whereas certain restrictions have hitherto been laid on, by His Majesty's commands, prohibiting Europeans from holding grounds in this island, and restricting the possession of lands to natives only, save and except in the port and town of Colombo, and the isthmus thereunto belonging, public notice is hereby given, by command of His Excellency, that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct, that all such restrictions be done away; and they are hereby done away accordingly, save and except in the district of Trincomalee, where the afore-mentioned restrictions are for the present still to apply.

By his Excellency's command,

(Signed)

JOHN RODNEY,

Colombo, December 4, 1810.

Chief Secretary.

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*Extract from the Ceylon Government Gazette, of July 22, 1812.—Government Advertisement.*

GRANTS OF LAND FOR CULTIVATION.

The advertisement published by the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General Maitland, dated 4th December, 1810, notifying that all restrictions existing against Europeans acquiring permanent property of land in this island were from thenceforth discontinued, except in the district of Trincomalee is now published, viz—"Whereas certain restrictions have hitherto been laid on, by His Majesty's

commands, prohibiting Europeans," &c &c., and the exception contained in the said advertisement, with regard to the districts of Trincomalee, is hereby limited to the whole of the peninsula of Trincomalee, and three miles westward of the Tank situated in the centre of the commencement of the isthmus; and for the further information and encouragement of persons desirous of obtaining grants of land from Government for the purposes of cultivation in any part of this island, with the temporary exception last mentioned, His Excellency is pleased hereby to publish the rules and conditions by which the grants will be regulated, in pursuance of instructions received from His Majesty's ministers on the subject. Grants in perpetuity will be given to His Majesty's European subjects, and also to such Europeans, or their descendants, as were settled in Ceylon before the conquest of it by His Majesty; and who, by their good conduct since, may have entitled themselves to that indulgence. The quantity of land so granted will not exceed 4000 acres to any one individual. Such lands will be held, free of all duty to Government, for a period not exceeding ten, or less than five years. At the expiration of that period, the lands will be subject to a fixed rent, liable to be altered at stated periods, but in no instance to exceed one-tenth of the actual annual produce. All such grants will be subject to a condition of cultivation and improvement, according to the situation and capability of the land, the particulars of which stipulation, and of all other conditions in which a latitude is left, will be fixed in the grants upon a fair and equitable consideration of the circumstances of each case. Applications to be made, by letter, addressed to the Chief Secretary of Government.

By his Excellency's command,

(Signed)

JOHN RODNEY,

*Chief Secretary of Government.*

*Chief Secretary's Office, Colombo, July 21, 1812\*.*

\* The liberal, safe, and manly policy, which dictated the measure described in the above proclamations, originated with Sir Alexander Johnstone, at that time His Majesty's Chief Judge of Ceylon, and First Member of Council. The Governor, however, as well as all the rest of the Members of the Council, concurred, and Sir A. Johnstone returned to England, with full powers, from his colleagues, to recommend the measure to His Majesty's Ministers. Our readers will recollect, that it is to the same gentleman, that India is indebted for the first introduction of jury trial,—a measure which has been found at once popular and efficient in the Island of Ceylon.

*Free Settlement of British subjects.*

There is, we believe, but one example of a British born subject holding property in India, beyond the special bounds of the King's Courts; but it is a highly instructive one. The case is that of a Mr. Brown, who holds a considerable estate on the Malabar coast, the following extract of a letter from an intelligent eye-witness, describes the effect of this experiment:—"The property was *purchased* from the East India Company, and amounts to 2000 acres of arable land, situated in five Deshams or districts, the collection of the public taxes in all of which the proprietor is responsible for, and has in fact collected ever since the year 1798, without any charge to Government, without a fraction of arrears, or the assistance, or even presence of a single revenue officer. The number of inhabitants in the five districts is from two to three thousand. The proprietor had, originally, magisterial as well as revenue authority. The first, however, was withdrawn, notwithstanding which there has, from first to last, been no theft, robbery, or murder committed, and not a case of sale by distress. The authority of the proprietor is so truly patriarchal, that he goes, in his neighbourhood, under the name of the 'Great Father.' The staple produce of Mr. Brown's land, like that of northern Malabar generally, is black pepper. Mr. Brown has introduced from the Malay countries the art of blanching this commodity, or producing what is called white pepper. He has besides introduced, and is proceeding with the cultivation of the nutmeg, the clove, and the pimento. Already he has succeeded with the cultivation of cinnamon, and exports yearly from 150 to 200 bales. He was at the expense of bringing young plants from Ceylon, as well as natives of that island to cultivate and cure the cinnamon. Mr. Brown first made known the plant from which Indian arrow-root is obtained, and has been so successful in instructing the natives in the process of the manufacture, that the article is now one of valuable export from the province of Malabar. Further, the same indefatigable and judicious individual has introduced, on a large scale, the cultivation of coffee from Mocha, and has succeeded in growing a commodity which Arabs themselves could hardly distinguish from real Mocha. The soil and climate of Malabar appear peculiarly well suited for the growth of this valuable plant, and Mr. Brown has spared no endeavours to induce the native inhabitants to engage in the cultivation of it, offering them young plants, and a liberal



price for the produce. Their invariable answer is, ‘ If we engage in this undertaking, and bring coffee to maturity, the Government will seize the principal part as revenue, as they have done in respect to the pepper vines.’ ” This statement requires no comment : Mr. Brown is, no doubt, a remarkable man, but still, such is the exuberance of intelligence, talent, and enterprise, in this country, that it could afford to India many Mr. Browns. — Let any reasonable inquirer, who peruses this statement, consider what would have been now the condition of India in comparison to what it actually is, had the free settlement of British subjects been allowed when we first acquired territorial possessions. What wonders in the improvement of the people and their country, as well as in the consolidation of our own power, would not English enterprise, skill, capital, and loyalty have effected, in the long period of seventy years which has been so egregiously misspent?

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*Note referred to in page 67.*

After English capital has been lavishly misdirected to its industry for more than a century and a half, Jamaica, the finest of our West Indian Islands, has a population only of between fifty and sixty inhabitants to the square mile. In our whole West Indian possessions there are about five slaves to every free man ; and of those miscalled free men, about seventy-three in a hundred are deprived of half their natural rights. There is, certainly, no example of so unnatural a condition of society in any age or country.

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*Note referred to in page 68.*

The comparative fertility of our different West Indian possessions may be judged of by their average produce of sugar to every slave. In the island of Trinidad, where, from the abundance of good land, there is no occasion to have recourse to inferior soils, or to soils exhausted by the improvident husbandry inseparable from the present system, every slave produces yearly  $11\frac{8}{100}$  cwt. ; in St. Vincent's,  $10\frac{4}{100}$  ; in Demerara, 8 cwt. ; in Antigua,  $6\frac{3}{100}$  ; St. Kitt's 5 ; Jamaica,  $4\frac{1}{100}$  ; and Tortola  $3\frac{3}{100}$ . This statement is, of course, affected by some of the colonies growing larger proportions of cotton, coffee, &c. than others.

# FOREIGN TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

*An Account of the Official Value of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures, and of Foreign and Colonial Produce and Manufactures, exported from Great Britain, distinguishing the several Countries; together with the Imports into Great Britain, from the same Countries; for the year ending 5th January, 1828.*

Countries.	Official Value of Imports into Great Britain from Foreign Parts.			Total Exports.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
EUROPE.						
Russia - - - -	2,932,945	18	5	2,220,878	12	0
Sweden - - - -	114,355	14	7	149,907	4	4
Norway - - - -	63,788	6	9	98,474	12	1
Denmark - - - -	453,225	7	11	196,413	4	0
Prussia - - - -	1,007,051	11	0	567,701	6	7
Germany - - - -	1,591,978	9	3	8,873,842	7	11
United Netherlands - -	1,396,292	12	6	1,957,891	4	10
France - - - -	1,225,704	13	7	1,082,272	11	11
Portugal, the Azores, and Madeira	508,846	9	7	2,146,434	12	10
Spain and the Canaries - -	551,218	6	2	563,660	6	10
Gibraltar - - - -	40,498	12	9	1,575,663	14	7
Italy - - - -	625,416	3	9	4,187,315	2	10
Malta - - - -	29,490	18	1	425,686	13	1
Ionian Islands - - - -	93,402	1	5	24,130	12	5
Turkey and the Levant - -	818,516	1	1	1,172,486	10	11
Isles--Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Man - - - -	191,236	2	1	353,236	10	8
£	11,646,967	8	11	28,596,295	10	10
ASIA.						
East Indies and China - -	8,002,786	14	10	4,877,125	2	5
New Holland and South Sea Islands - - - -	83,552	18	1	269,529	4	10
AFRICA.						
Cape of Good Hope - - -	151,342	9	7	194,615	17	2
Other parts of Africa - -	218,904	16	0	294,027	16	6
AMERICA.						
British Northern Colonies -	974,823	8	5	1,650,318	19	4
British West Indies - - -	7,782,135	2	5	3,792,408	5	6
Foreign West Indies - - -	602,484	8	0	930,259	11	8
United States - - - -	4,984,647	3	1	5,262,191	16	9
Brazil - - - -	767,918	5	10	2,593,730	10	1
Mexico - - - -	101,380	8	10	668,415	16	6
Colombia - - - -	21,504	9	0	320,360	4	3
Pern - - - -	31,839	12	11	210,867	1	6
Chili - - - -	75,377	15	3	315,820	13	7
Buenos Ayres and Monte Video -	265,629	15	3	421,900	9	2
The Whale Fisheries - - -	527,656	11	5	1,489	13	4
Total - - - -	£ 36,038,951	8	1	50,399,356	13	5

The proportional value of the trade carried on with each country during the year ended January 5, 1828, cannot at present be stated, as it is ascertained by applying the official rates individually to the numerous articles of import and export of which the trade may in each case consist,—an operation of such extent and labour as unavoidably to occupy a period of several months after the termination of the year. The account, containing the distinction of the trade with each country, is therefore submitted for the year ended 5th of January, 1827; and an abstract is subjoined of the total official value of the imports and exports in the year ended 5th of January, 1828, as the best return which it is practicable to furnish at the present time, in relation to the trade of the last year.

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*Year ended 5th of January, 1828.*

Total Official Value of Imports into Great Britain				
from Foreign Parts	-	-	-	-
			£43,167,747	7 7
Total Official Value of Exports from Great Britain,				
viz:—				
British and Irish Produce				
and Manufactures	-	£51,976,448	4 8	
Foreign and Colonial Mer-				
chandise	-	9,806,247	10 11	
			£61,082,695	15 7

WILLIAM IRVING,

*Inspector-General of Imports and Exports.*

*Inspector-General's Office, Custom-house, London. April 14, 1828.*

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*An Account of the Official Value of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures, and of Foreign and Colonial Produce and Manufactures, exported from Ireland, together with the Imports into Ireland, for the year ended 5th January, 1828.*

Official Value of Imports into Ireland from Foreign				
Countries	-	-	-	-
			£1,420,027	11 7
Official Value of Exports from Ireland to Foreign				
Countries:—				
British and Irish Produce and Manufactures	-	942,822	3 4	
Foreign and Colonial Produce and Manufactures	-	24,480	12 0	
Total	-		£967,312	15 4

WILLIAM IRVING,

*Inspector-General of Imports and Exports.*

*Inspector-General's Office, Custom-house, London, April 14.*

Of the Irish Exports, nine-tenths are to the British West Indies, North American Colonies, and the United States.

FINIS.

**FREE TRADE**  
**AND**  
**COLONIZATION**  
**OF**  
**INDIA.**

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"No sovereign, I confidently believe, has ever yet traded to profit;—no trading company, I greatly fear, has yet administered government for the happiness of its subjects."

*Speech of Lord Grenville, April 9, 1843*

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1829.

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## A VIEW, &c.

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A thorough freedom of commercial intercourse between the European and Indian dominions of the Crown, and an unrestricted settlement of Englishmen in India, are the grand and essential instruments for improving our Eastern Colonies, and rendering them useful to the mother country. Every one knows that it is the freedom which has existed in respect to these two essential and indispensable points which, even in spite of blundering legislation, neglect of the mother country, inauspicious localities, and occasional imprudence on the part of the settlers, has assured the rapid prosperity of almost every colony which England ever possessed ; and it is unquestionably the interdiction of the same freedom which has made the Indian commerce always insignificant—often retrogressive ;—which has made our Indian territory, from our first acquisition of it down to the present moment, a heavy burden to the mother country, and which has, for the most part, after sixty years rule, kept our Indian fellow-subjects in the same unaltered state of poverty and barbarism in which we found them.

The few following pages will be devoted to an examination of the question of Free Trade and Colonization in India ; and we imagine it will be no difficult matter to demonstrate to all accustomed to a fair exercise of their reason, that, whether as regards the interests of Indians or of Englishmen, both are equally useful, equally safe, and equally necessary. We may truly aver, that for a full century at least, reason, common sense, and the principles of science, have been alike set at defiance to serve the purposes of a party ; set at defiance, as experience has amply attested, for the virtual purpose of obstructing the commerce of England, and arresting the progress of improvement in India. It is impossible to recur without pain and



mortification to the too successful efforts which were so perseveringly made, even as late as the year 1813, nay, as late as 1821, to mislead and abuse the judgment of the nation and legislature in respect to the government and commerce of India. We were told, in a tone of oracular authority, and on the alleged experience of two centuries, that the trade between Great Britain and India was wholly incapable of extension; that we could furnish nothing new which the Hindoos wanted, nor the Hindoos produce any thing new which we required. We were told, in one breath, that the Hindoos were so peculiar a people, that they would be driven into a rebellion, which would cost us the loss of our dominion, on account of the mere resort of British merchants to their country; and in another, that if such resort were permitted, India would soon be peopled with Englishmen, and her gentle aboriginal inhabitants exterminated, or reduced to the condition of helots. Then we were told that the Hindoos were a good and moral people, and would only be depraved by an intercourse with Englishmen. And, finally, we were assured that the existing administration was quite perfect; in short, that the Indians, hating changes of every description, were enamoured of monopoly and of all its consequences.

Let us first attend to the triumphant refutation which the free trade has given to the statements and predictions of its opponents. In the year 1794, or the first of their former Charter, the East India Company exported to India and China to the official value of £2,924,829. In 1814, or the last of the Company's enjoyment of an exclusive monopoly, they exported only £1,699,125. Their trade in twenty years, in short, had not increased, but fallen off by £1,225,704. But lest this should be considered an unfair statement, we shall go further back, and view the progress of the Company's trade by periods of six years, from the year 1790 to 1814 inclusive. In the first period, the average of the Company's annual exportations was £2,520,871; in the second it was £2,362,375; in the third it was £2,153,288; and in the fourth only £1,740,137, or more than 30 per cent. less than it was in the first. During the whole time in question, the Company had an exclusive monopoly against their countrymen: during a great part of it, the French, the Dutch, the Danes, and the Americans were driven by the arms of Great Britain from the

field of competition. During the whole of it they had not less than forty millions of native subjects, and latterly half as many more, and at the moment they enjoyed the least trade, they were in full occupation of all the French, all the Danish, and all the Dutch possessions; in short, they had a field of commercial enterprise which was limited only by the Cape of Good Hope on the one side, and by Cape Horn on the other.

In the first three years of free trade, the official value of the exports from Great Britain to India and China averaged £2,364,358; in the second they rose to £3,002,662; and in the third to £4,294,487;\* the free traders having to sustain the unfair competition of the East India Company, and the competition of all the commercial nations of Europe and America, while they were wholly excluded from the market of China. In short, in nine brief years they had raised the Indian exports by 70 per cent. beyond what they had ever attained under the East India Company, and by 146 per cent. beyond what that East India Company had reduced them, after the piddling of more than 214 years.

In 1814, the last year of the Company's enjoyment of the exclusive monopoly, their whole exports from Great Britain to India amounted, in declared value, to £1,571,245; in 1823 they amounted only to £458,550; in 1824 to £624,780; in 1825 to £598,553; in 1826 to £990,964; and in 1827 to £804,778.† The average of the five years thus quoted makes the trade of the East India Company to India, after they had acquired a prodigious addition of territory, and an augmentation of subjects to the amount at least of three and twenty millions, by £875,720, or 55 per cent. less than it was thirteen years before.

Let us now advert to the progress of the free trade. In the year 1824, or at the conclusion of the first ten years, the exports by the free trader amounted, in declared value, to £2,839,796; in 1825 to £2,574,660; in 1826 to £2,625,888, and in 1827 to £3,903,006.‡ The reader will not fail to contrast this steady

\* *East and West India Trade*.—Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 15th May, 1827.

† *East India Trade*.—Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 10th and 11th June, 1828.

‡ *Ibid.*

progression of legitimate commerce with the fluctuation always, and retrogression generally, of monopoly traffic, as both are exhibited in these statements.

A statement of the East India Company's commerce with China, where they enjoy an exclusive monopoly against their countrymen with 150,000,000 of the most industrious and wealthy people of Asia, as well as the exclusive right of supplying the United Kingdom with one of the first necessities of life, will afford results equally unfavourable to them. In 1814, as we have already stated, the declared value of the Company's exports to China was £987,788; in 1823 they fell to £708,047; in 1824 they were £612,139; in 1825 they were £744,858; in 1826 they were £852,030; and in 1827 they were only £493,815.

The average of these five years makes the trade £682,177, or £305,611, or 30 per cent. less than it was in 1814. In the year 1827 the whole exports to India, where the trade was in some measure open, rose, in thirteen years, to £4,707,784, or sustained an advance of nearly 200 per cent. In the same year, under the close trade, the exports to China fell off to £493,815, or sustained a decrease of 30 per cent. Such is the result of a partial free commerce, still struggling against restraints, against mischievous exclusions, against local monopolies, and against the competition of an arbitrary government; and such the result of the labours of a joint stock company bolstered up by all the privileges and immunities which a mistaken legislation could confer upon it.

Turning to the import trade, we find that the sum total of our imports from India and China, in the year 1814, amounted, in declared value, to £6,298,386. On the average of the five years ending 1827, they amounted to £10,543,417, or had sustained an advance of £4,245,031. This shows an increase of little more than 67 per cent, whereas the increase in the exports is no less than 200 per cent. The difference, although there be many other obstacles to the import trade, is principally to be accounted for by the stationary character of the trade in tea, the great article of the consumption of this country imported from the Indies. On the average of the first five years ending with 1814, the importation of tea into this country amounted, in value, to £3,229,497: on the average of the five years ending with 1827, it was £4,258,654, which shows an in-

crease only of about 32 per cent. Rejecting from the imports of 1814 the value of tea, or £3,527,320, the amount for that year will be £2,771,066; and following the same course in regard to the imports in the five years ending with 1827, they will be found, on an average, to amount to £6,241,162, being an increase, not of 32 per cent., but of 120 per cent. But for the monopoly of tea, the increase, as in every other wholesome branch of commerce, would have equalled the exports, and both would, by this time, have been infinitely greater than they are. Our whole imports from India and China amounted, in 1814, as just stated, to £6,298,386. On the average of the five years ending with 1827, those from India alone amounted to £5,866,343; in 1826, they indeed exceeded them by £95,901. In the last year of which the statement is before us, or 1827, (tea excluded in both cases,) they exceeded them by £3,089,013, or by no less than 111 per cent.

In 1813, the East India Company assured us, that, "of 54,000 tons allotted for the private trade since 1793, only 21,806 tons had been actually used by private merchants, and these filled wholly with commodities for the use of Europeans." The reply to this is tolerably complete: in 1823, there entered inwards 49,378 tons of shipping, and cleared outwards 50,016; in 1824, 52,091 tons entered inwards, and 49,785 cleared outwards; in 1825, there entered inwards 43,934 tons, and cleared outwards 57,990; in 1826, there entered inwards 58,968 tons, and cleared outwards 56,577; and in 1827, there entered inwards 61,270 tons, and cleared outwards 73,890. The tonnage for this last year, it will be observed, exceeds in amount, by considerably more than a threefold proportion, the amount which the East India Company thought sufficient, and it *was* sufficient, under their patronage, for the free trade of India for twenty years together.—What proportion of the tonnage now specified belonged to the East India Company, the official returns afford us no means of determining, but that it was notoriously a trifle; and that that trifle was notoriously employed in carrying on a losing trade to the detriment of the nation, there is no question.

But it is not the direct intercourse between India and Great Britain alone which has been improved by the relaxation of the East India Company's monopoly. The local commerce of India has also benefited largely from the impulse given to

it even by the small addition of British capital and enterprise, which has followed the partial opening of the trade. Thus, the whole export and import trade of Calcutta, in the last year of the East India Company's close monopoly, was £6,911,774. On the average of the first seven years of free trade, every article of export or import having fallen greatly in price, the trade rose to £11,158,889, being within a small fraction of the same amount as the whole trade of the port of London 120 years ago.

But perhaps the most remarkable example we have of the success of free trade is exhibited in the history of the little settlement of Singapore, a barren islet, and having only the advantage of a convenient locality. In the commencement of the year 1819, not ten acres of the primeval forest which covered it was cleared, and its whole inhabitants consisted of about three hundred beggarly Malays, not only possessing no industrious habits, but notorious and dangerous pirates. We have before us the account of its exports and imports for the year ending the 30th of April, 1828, and find that their joint amount was £2,875,800. The exports alone amounted to £1,387,201, that is to say, they exceeded the declared value of the exports of the East India Company from the whole United Kingdom to all India and to all China, in the corresponding year, by £88,608, giving the Company the advantage of all their civil and military stores; but observing, on the other hand, that they did not contribute a shilling towards the amount of the Singapore exports.—Our whole trade in the Straits of Malacca, in 1814, was short of a million sterling. At present it considerably exceeds £4,000,000.—The trade of Bombay and its dependencies has, in like manner, sustained a vast increase.

A rapid view of a few of the staple articles of export to India, and of the staple productions of that country, will exhibit in a clear and incontrovertible manner the evil effects of the existing system. We begin with the articles of export. The most valuable and important export of this country to India consists of cotton manufactures. This branch is nearly altogether in the hands of the private trader, and so it advances from year to year. In the year 1814 the East India Company exported manufactured cottons to the value of £16,252. This was all that the Company effected for the grand staple

manufacture of the kingdom. In the same year the free trader exported to the value of £74,673. The total number of yards of cotton cloth exported to India in 1814 was 818,208, and of cotton twist 8lbs. In 1827 the value of cotton manufactures exported to India was £1,923,487, of which the East India Company exported only £21,550 ls. 11d. worth. The total number of yards of cotton cloth exported was 42,919,222, and of cotton twist, 3,063,968lbs. Of the first, the share of the East India Company was 630,639 yards, and of the second, 412lbs. In thirteen years the East India Company's trade in cotton manufactures had advanced very little more than 32 per cent. ; that of the free trade had advanced in the same time by 3832 per cent. The export of cotton manufactures to India constitutes little less than eleven parts in the hundred of our exports to all parts of the world, in this grand staple of our industry. This is undeniably a great and valuable branch of the national commerce, but that it has not attained its acme may easily be proved. It has hardly reached the Chinese Empire at all, a country of rude manufacturing industry, in comparison with Great Britain, and a country in which the raw material is so dear as to be yearly imported in great quantity. Hindostan alone contains 134 millions of people, for whom the supply of 1827 will afford little more than three-tenths of a yard a-head ; but to this must be added the population of India beyond the Ganges, of the Indian Islands, of Persia, and of Arabia, amounting in all, probably, to not less than 50 millions. For this aggregate population of 184 millions, 42,919,222 yards would afford little more than two-tenths of a yard for the consumption of each individual. If we add 150 millions for the population of China, the supply will not amount, for each individual, to much more than one-tenth of a yard. There is nothing too sanguine in such speculations. Any reasonable expectations may well be entertained of a branch of trade which, labouring under many grievous restrictions, has, in the short period of thirteen years, advanced from the paltry sum of £90,925 to £1,923,487, and which is conducted with such skill and economy that the consumer now receives his goods at about one-third of the price which they cost at that time.

The East India Company have always dealt in woollens, and, to the infinite detriment of the fair trader, they still perse-

vere in doing so. The woollen trade, therefore, to India, not to mention that the free trader is wholly excluded from China, the great market for that commodity, affords a very different result from the cotton trade. In 1814 the total value of woollens exported to India, including China, was £1,084,435, of which the East India Company exported £1,064,222, and the free trader only £20,213. In 1827 the total exports of woollens to India and China amounted in value only to £817,159, or had fallen off by 23 per cent. The East India Company exported of this amount to India £126,320, and to China £413,412, or in all, £539,732, and the free trader to India only £277,427. The export of the free trader had advanced, therefore, on the limited field of India, by above 1272 per cent., and that of the East India Company had declined by 49 per cent., or, in other words, fallen to nearly one-half of what it had been thirteen years before. India, situated either within the tropics, or within ten degrees of them, although affording a considerable market for woollens, bears in this respect no comparison with the Chinese Empire, which stretches to the 53d degree of north latitude; China, in short, is the grand staple for woollens. Even the transactions of the East India Company themselves show this incontestibly. In the year 1791, when they had a complete monopoly both of the markets of India and China, their exports of woollens to the former amounted in value only to £8,680, whereas those to the latter were worth no less than £486,993. An experience of six and thirty years has not only not increased the Chinese exports of woollens, but even reduced their amount by full 15 per cent.

The East India Company, notwithstanding these unsuccessful and humiliating results, perseveres, with unaccountable tenacity, in maintaining its monopoly of the woollen trade to China: it even forbids the officers of its own ships from being concerned in this favourite branch of trade; and in India, while the exportation of every other article to China (Turkey opium excepted) is free, it has enacted a law expressly prohibiting all British subjects from supplying the Chinese with this great staple of British industry! The incapacity of the Company to supply the Chinese market has conferred a very useful privilege on the commercial rivals of this country. The Russians supply the Chinese from the north, and the Dutch and Americans from the south. The British trader has the satisfaction

of seeing the ships of the latter nation *legally* clear out from the ports of the United Kingdom with cargoes of woollens and other British manufactures, while no British ship can presume to engage in such a commerce, and while the law declares even a participation in the adventure, on the part of the British merchant, to be a misdemeanour. The woollens alone sold by the Americans in China, in 1825-6, amounted in value to £145,465. The woollens furnished by the East India Company to the Chinese nation, in 1827, were worth £413,412, which would supply them with woollen clothing to the value of little more than a halfpenny a-head! In all reason this is surely not sufficient to meet the demands of luxury in the southern portion of the population, or those of necessity in the northern. That the East India Company does not adequately supply the Chinese market, that is to say, supply it with woollens of suitable quality, and at prices which will enable the Chinese to purchase, is but too obvious, or the Americans, with their small capitals, and their small demand for the staple produce of Chinese industry, could not find it a profitable speculation to supply them indirectly, through Great Britain, with a British manufacture. We may safely then venture to predict, that in the event of a free intercourse with China, British woollens will inevitably become one of the first and most important of our exports to that vast country. The Chinese, in reality, have nothing good or cheap enough to substitute for them, and even at present they find their way to Peking and Tartary. The market for foreign furs which that country affords, and which has been exclusively supplied by Russia and America for many years, is a sufficient proof of the great demand for warm clothing. In consequence of the destruction of the animals affording those furs, they have become too high priced for the Chinese to purchase to the former extent, and consequently the consumption is gradually narrowing. Here is fresh evidence of a demand for British woollens, the only cheap and natural substitute for the furs in question. We put it to the common sense and common interests of the wool growers and woollen manufacturers, whether the free trade, which, in fourteen years, raised the cotton exports to India from £90,925 in 1814, to £2,059,374 in 1828, does not afford them a fairer prospect of extending the consumption of woollens, than the



patronage of the East India Company, according to the faithful statement which we have just rendered of its history?

The East India Company had long been in the habit of sending metals, as well as woollens, to India and China; and, indeed, their exports to those countries were nearly altogether confined to those two articles. On the average of the eleven years, from 1781 to 1791, they exported to the yearly value of £141,985; the export of the last year named amounting only to £108,560, and being less by full £55,318 than that of the first. They exported to China in the same period, to the yearly value of £48,827, so that their total average exports were £190,812. In 1814, the first year of the free trade, the total quantity of metals exported to India was 14,334 tons, and the total value £494,970. Of this the East India Company exported 9,813½ tons, value £374,583, and the free trader only 4,520½ tons, value £120,387. In 1827, the total quantity exported rose to 34,093 tons, and the value to £768,985. Of this quantity the East India Company exported only 8,512 tons, and the free trader 25,580 tons. This subject, however, requires explanation. The metals exported in 1814 consisted only of iron, steel, copper, tin, and lead:—the free trader has now added brass, quicksilver, and spelter. The East India Company deals only in iron, copper, and lead, relinquishing the three last-named metals to the free trader, and the benefits of this relinquishment are remarkable.

The total quantity of iron exported in 1814 was 11,108 tons, of which the East India Company exported 7,085 tons, and the free trader 4,023 tons. The quantity of iron exported in 1827 was 19,261 tons, an increase only of 73 per cent. Of this the East India Company exported 5,423 tons, and the free trader 13,838 tons. In the first period the exports of the East India Company exceeded those of the free trader by full 76 per cent. In the last they fell short of them by 60 per cent.!

Of the whole quantity of iron worth £282,098, China was furnished only with 1,973 tons, and to the value of £26,336. With a population nearly equal to all the rest of the Indies, with wealth far superior, and a demand as effectual, she received little more than one-tenth of the whole supply. The competition of the East India Company has unquestionably hindered the progress of this branch of trade; that competition, however, is confined to their continental possessions and China

it is owing to the freedom from it elsewhere that the trade has chiefly advanced. The iron exported to foreign Indian possessions in 1827, and in which the East India Company had no share, amounted to 2,262 tons, and that to the British territories to 15,790 tons. From the latter, however, ought to be deducted the exports to Ceylon, as well as to the possessions in the Straits of Malacca. We have no means of ascertaining the amount of these, but we perceive that by the official account of the commerce of Singapore, which did not exist as a port of trade in 1814, that in 1827-8 the British iron re-exported from that settlement alone, that is, the actual and *bonâ fide* sales to the consumer, amounted to 4,942 tons. This alone will account for a large share in the increased export of iron since 1814, so that in all likelihood the advance, where the Company's competition prevails, is very trifling, if any.

In 1814 the total quantity of copper exported to India and China was 1,881 tons, valued at £242,239. Of this the East India Company exported 1,505 tons, and the free trader but 376 tons. In 1827 the quantity exported was 2,613 tons, an increase of 38 per cent; the East India Company now exported only 168 tons, or about a ninth part of what they had exported thirteen years before. The free trader exported 2,445 tons, or between six and seven-fold more than he had done in the commencement of his trade. The quantity of copper furnished to China by the East India Company out of the 2,613 tons above mentioned, (but in which, however, is included brass and manufactures of the two metals,) was 23 tons 14 cwt.

By the last Charter\* the East India Company was compelled to export, or to allow others to export, British copper to the extent of 1,500 tons a year, and this whether copper was high priced or low priced in England, and whether it was in

\* 33d Geo. III. cap. 57, sec. 84. By the agreement made between the Legislature and the East India Company, in 1769, the Company engaged to export British merchandise to the yearly value of £380,837, when they had an entire monopoly trade from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, and about forty millions of Indian subjects. This is about one tenth part of the amount of what the free trader now exports to India alone, and scarcely one-fifth part of what he exports in the single article of cotton manufactures. This contrast surely entitles us to exclaim, in reference both to the East India Company and to the administration, in the language of the French merchants to the French minister, "Let us alone."

demand in India or not in demand. The free trader, as will be seen from the statement now given, exported 63 per cent. beyond this quantity without any compulsion at all,—without the aid of an Act of Parliament, and sheerly for his own profit and convenience, which, however, are equally the profit and the convenience of the producer in England and the consumer in India. The East India Company, when not compelled by Act of Parliament, has exported scarcely more than one-ninth part of what it did under legislative compulsion !

In 1814 the total quantity of lead exported to India and China was 726 tons, valued at £19,393 ; the East India Company exporting 605 tons, and the private trader 121 tons. In 1827 the exports amounted to 4,488 tons, of which the East India Company exported 2,546 tons, a large portion of which, however, appears to consist of military stores. The free trader exported only 1,942 tons, which, however, is an advance of more than 1,500 per cent. upon his first attempt. Of the exports of the East India Company, 1,660 tons, valued at £33,359, were for the market of China. Deducting this, therefore, from the whole amount of the Company's exports, there will remain for India only 886 tons, which is exceeded by the free trade by nearly 120 per cent.

The consumption of spelter or zinc in India has always been large. About £50,000 worth of this commodity, under the name of tutenague, used to be imported from China, whence it was smuggled,—the exportation of it from that country, as, indeed, of all other metals, being contraband. In 214 years the East India Company had not discovered that tutenague and spelter were one and the same metal, under different names. The free trader soon did, and spelter now forms one of the most valuable and important of our exports to India. In the five years ending with 1827, spelter was exported from this country to India to the amount of 32,553 tons, (being at the rate of upwards of 6,000 tons per annum,) and to the value of £685,532. This branch of trade may, indeed, be considered as one of entirely new creation, for India is the only market which Great Britain has for the commodity. The Indians are now supplied with this article at about one-fourth of its cost when it was supplied by China, and probably to the extent of treble the quantity.

There exists no longer a necessity for violating the Chinese

*mercantile system*, for we perceive that, in the year 1826, Calcutta, the principal Indian mart for zinc, was supplied from that country only to the value of £5 14s. But we are far from being the only dealers in this article; the French, the Dutch, the Danes, and the Americans, have followed the example of the British free trader, and export largely to India.

The East India Company has followed, but at a remote and humble distance, the example of the free trader in respect to zinc. In the five years already quoted, they exported to the amount of 308 tons 11 cwts. or at the rate of 61 tons 14 cwts. per annum, being in the proportion of 1 to 104 of the quantity exported by the free trader in the same period.

To the metals now enumerated, we may add tin, steel, wrought and unwrought brass, pewter wares, and tin plates, plated ware, jewellery, machinery, small arms, and cannon. These, which are all the produce of British industry, were exported in 1827, to the declared value of £766,375, or, excluding military stores exported by the East India Company, and which must, of necessity, be exported by any British government exercising the sovereignty of India, to the value of £536,590. The exportation even of these minor articles then exceeds by 40 per cent. the whole boon conferred by the Legislature upon British manufactures and industry, when the East India Company, bound hand and foot, came under obligations to export British produce annually, to the pitiful amount of £380,837.

But the great mart for the consumption of the metals is China, and this, as is too well known, is still under all the rigours of the monopoly. What may be effected by the British trader and manufacturer in this market, may be gathered from what has actually been performed under many obvious disadvantages by the Americans. In the year 1825, the total amount of the metals (consisting of quicksilver, copper, iron, and lead) sold by them in China was 1687 tons, and its value £98,222. Two years later, or in 1827, the quantity of metals exported to China, by the East India Company, was 3656 tons; this, however, consisted almost entirely of the low priced metals, iron and lead, so that the declared value was but £62,582. Deducting 25 per cent. from the American metals, in order to approximate them to the declared value of the British metals, we shall find that the trade carried on by the Americans, who

have no metals of their own to furnish to the Chinese, but who must go and seek for them in foreign countries, exceeds, under the auspices of the East India Company, that of the whole United Kingdom, abounding in metals, and in manufacturing industry connected with the metals, by full 17 per cent.

The unqualified assertion of the East India Company, in 1813, was, that after giving "facilities and enlargements" \* to private enterprise and adventure never enjoyed before, "not one new article for the consumption of India had been exported," in a period of nearly twenty years, and that there was "little perceivable difference in the few articles of metals and woollens" which had composed the routine of traffic under the monopoly. The whole trade in cotton manufactures and cotton twist, in lead, spelter, quicksilver, brass, tin plates, and machinery, and the vast augmentation in quantity, and improvement in quality, to suit them to the taste of the consumer, in the exports of woollens, iron, cutlery, and copper, are pretty satisfactory

\* The "facilities and enlargements" here alluded to amounted to 3000 tons of shipping a year, of an inferior class to the Company's own shipping, at freights, in peace, (of which, by the way, there was none,) of £11 per ton, and in war, of from £22 to £26, or occasionally of £44, when private freights had the honour of being conveyed in the *first class* of the Company's shipping,—the Company having, besides, the sole disposal and sale of the free traders' property, and being protected by statute from being answerable for loss, damages, or defalcation. It is impossible, at this distance of time, not to wonder at the extraordinary intrepidity of these speculations. We quote from the report of a Select Committee of East India Directors, made in 1813. This notable document concludes by a warm reprobation of the author of the "Wealth of Nations," for having prognosticated a probable increase in the Indian commerce, and a hearty approbation of the President Montesquieu, for having differed with Dr. Smith and agreed with themselves "In the period which has elapsed, of nearly forty years," say the Directors, "since he (Dr. S.) first published his work on the Wealth of Nations, the endeavours of all Europe and America have made no discovery of that immense market for European manufactures which he said was offered by the East Indies." Surely this is not fair of the Directors towards Dr. Smith, when they themselves, armed with legislative privileges and monopolies, were the sole cause that prevented the Doctor's prognostic from being fulfilled. A man who habitually stands at his door with a blunderbuss, threatening to blow out the brains of any one who crosses his threshold, might just as well complain that he had no visitors—although he might proclaim in the streets that his abode was the mansion of hospitality.

answers to these confident and lugubrious predictions. Other articles might easily be added. Glass and earthenware, for example, heretofore confined, under the monopoly, to the European consumer, have now, by their cheapness, beauty, and suitableness, begun to reach the natives of the East from China to Arabia. The first of these articles is by far the most considerable in amount; and we find that, on the average of the five years ending with 1827, the total annual value of it sent to India was £118,299.

To these proofs, that India is an extensive market for the consumption of European productions—to this overwhelming mass of evidence in support of what was once called “nothing but a sanguine theory” and a “deplorable delusion,”\* we do not know that the advocates of monopoly have ventured to say any thing beyond throwing out a hint now and then, that the private merchant is carrying on “a losing trade.” It is a strange losing trade, that for fourteen years has gone on increasing year after year, and which, at the end of the period, is near 40 per cent. more than at the beginning of it. The East India trade, like all other distant branches of trade, is necessarily precarious, from the imperfect information which is naturally incident to great distance; and if to these difficulties adventitious ones are superadded, (and many are,) the blame rests with the rulers of India, and with those who legislate for India, but cannot, with any show of decency, be charged to the private merchant. What is indiscretion and folly, however, in the free merchant, is to be considered, on the part of the East India Company, as virtue, patriotism, and disinterestedness! The East India Company itself has exhibited to us, in detail, various specimens of the benefits in this way, which it has conferred upon the nation. The following are examples of the favours so conferred:—In the six years of the Charter which terminated in 1793, they exported to their own settlements in

\* “There seems to be a general and deplorable delusion respecting the practicability of a vast extension of the sale of the manufactures of this country in India and China, and of the productions of those countries here. On the side of the merchants there is nothing but a sanguine theory. On the side of the Company there is the experience of all the nations of Europe for three centuries; there is the testimony of ancient history; there are the climate, the nature, the usages, tastes, prejudices, religious and political institutions of the Eastern people.”—*Report of the Committee of Correspondence to the Court of Directors, 1813.*

India, British manufactures to the value of £1,563,016; upon which they sustained a loss of £27,966. In ten years of the same Charter they exported to China and Persia British manufactures worth £2,908,769, and here there was a dead loss of £203,453. During their last Charter, their commercial losses, by their own showing, amounted to four millions sterling, and Lord Grenville was of opinion that the estimate was "much within the truth." In the investigation which took place in 1820 and 1821, the Company exhibited a statement of its export trade from Great Britain to China for six and twenty years, embracing a portion of the present Charter; and here it appeared that they lost upon every year but three, and that in all they sunk £1,668,000 of the capital of the nation. "Their losses on export from this country (said the same illustrious statesman) are not even disguised; their advocates proclaim the fact, and even boast of it: yet, if loss is incurred in this case, by whom is it sustained? Not by the Directors themselves,—that would be wholly unreasonable; not by the proprietors of India stock,—they receive, and must receive, their undiminished dividends. The loss falls on the public treasury—on the people of England."\*

We shall now advert to the staple productions of Indian commerce, composing, for the most part, the imports into Europe.

Of all the obstacles to the progress of the Indian trade, the most injurious is the exclusion of the industry, example, and capital of Europe. It is in vain to expect that either the agriculture, the arts, or the commerce of India can ever become of the vastness and importance of which they are susceptible, until improved and extended by the unlimited and unshackled application of British capital and intelligence. The free settlement of Englishmen then is loudly called for, as a measure not only of expediency, but of real necessity, if India is ever to be rendered a valuable acquisition to this country. The whole productions of Indian industry that are abandoned to the exclusive management of the natives, through the restraints and penalties of the monopoly, are inferior to the similar productions of every other tropical country; they are not only inferior

\* Speech of Lord Grenville, in his place in Parliament. April 9. 1813.

to the productions of British colonial industry, but to those of French, Dutch, and Spanish, even to those of Portuguese industry; they are in every case also inferior to the corresponding productions of Chinese industry. To what is this to be ascribed, but to the slovenliness and ignorance of a semi-barbarous people? The whole is a mere affair of civilization; and in so far as the Hindoos are inferior to Europeans and to Chinese in real skill and intelligence, so must be the productions of their agricultural, their manufacturing, or their any other kind of useful industry.

We shall bring before our readers, in a tabular form, a few of the articles of East Indian produce, in which their great inferiority to the corresponding productions of other countries is exemplified. We give the highest quality in each case, a comparison extremely favourable to East Indian articles; for it is only the very best qualities of these that ever find their way to the markets of Europe at all, the middling and lowest kinds being either consumed on the spot, or exported for the use of less fastidious consumers than those of Europe. Indigo, the sole production of the Indian soil which receives any thing like adequate benefit from European capital and direction, is also the sole exception to the inferiority of Indian productions. What has been effected in this, it is clear enough may be effected in every other commodity, if we do not wilfully and wantonly make positive laws to prevent it, which, in reality, is the course we have hitherto pertinaciously pursued.

ARTICLES.	British India.	British West India.	United States.	Brazil.	Spanish America.	Mauritius and Bourbon.	Java.	Amoy and Swatow.	China and Nippon.	Hulu.	Formosa.	Yokohama.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Sugar . . . $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.	35 0	47 0	0 0	40 0	48 0	38 0	0 0	0 8	38 0			
Cotton . . . $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	6 5	0 9	0 8	0 8		0 10		0 8				
Cochineal $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	1 2				11 0							
Rice . . . $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.	23 0		37 0									
Turmeric $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.	24 0								38 0			
Tobacco $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	0 2		0 15		0 54							
Raw Silk $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	18 0								21 0	24		
Castor Oil . . .	0 18	0 30										
Coffee . . . $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.	34 0	88 0		42 0	42 0	38						
Indigo . . . . .	9 10				8 3							
Madder . . . . .	30 0							42 0				54 08

The soil and climate of India must, in no respect, be charged with the rudeness and imperfection of Indian products. Our



own dominions, extending from near the equator to at least the thirteenth degree of north latitude, and from the sixty-third to the ninety-sixth of east longitude, embrace a prodigious diversity of soils and climates, capable of yielding an infinite variety of useful productions, calculated to enrich the country and to extend its foreign commerce, and for the improvement or creation of which an infusion of European skill, capital, and enterprise are alone necessary. It is notorious that without these the unaided skill of the native Indians is unequal to the production of any commodity where such capital, skill, and enterprise are demanded, so as to give them any chance in a fair competition with the parallel products of other countries, similarly, or even less advantageously gifted.

What but the exclusion of European settlement hinders in our Indian dominions the extensive culture of the peculiar productions of America, and even of China? The indigenous products of India have been transferred to America, and there, under the direction of European skill, they far surpass, in goodness and quantity, those of their original country; witness the sugar-cane, the cotton plant, coffee, rice, and even indigo until, in its native country, the production of this last fell into the hands of Europeans. Have the Indians retaliated upon the American colonists? Where is our Indian annatto? Where is our Indian cocoa, --our Indian vanilla? The hardy plant producing the annatto, (*Bixa Orellana*) introduced from America, is to be found as a garden plant throughout India, but the drug obtained from it is wholly unknown to the Indians as an article of commerce. The plant producing the cocoa, although cultivated in the Spanish, and even in the Dutch East Indies, is unknown in the British possessions. The cochineal insect, and the plant it feeds upon, introduced into British India by an ingenious European, have, in rearing and culture, reverted to the hands of nature and the care of the Indians, and Mexican cochineal, consequently, exceeds it in value by full 500 per cent.

India is in a similar predicament in regard to China: situated close to that country, in daily intercourse with it, receiving yearly into our settlements thousands of emigrants from thence, having a population of cheap labourers, by character peculiarly adapted to the tedious manipulation indispensable to the preparation of tea, an advantage which no other colony enjoys, or

is likely for a long time to enjoy, and possessing the same soils, climates, and physical aspects as the most favoured of the tea provinces of that empire, not one pound of tea has ever been grown in our Indian possessions,—not one attempt has been made to rear this valuable plant in British India, while such efforts have been frequent in distant and uncongenial European colonies. Owing to the superior skill of the Chinese, both as agriculturists and manufacturers, they are enabled to export a large quantity of sugar, of quality much superior to that of India, although having to contend against the high rents incident to a country fully peopled, and where the price of corn is, probably, not less than threefold as great as in the average of the Indo-British dominions. We may add, that such is the unskilfulness of the Indians in almost every thing approaching to manufacturing industry, that the whole, or very nearly the whole of the refined sugar consumed by Europeans in our East Indian possessions, is imported from China, the natives of the country being all the while acquainted with the process by which the article is prepared, yet producing it in so careless and slovenly a manner as to make it unfit for any table but their own.

In whatever direction we turn our eyes, the effects of Indian imbecility and the baleful consequences of European exclusion are equally conspicuous. The Indian forests, for example, hardly afford any commodity fit for foreign exportation, because the Indians know not how to turn them to account, and Englishmen are prevented, by express law, from doing so. In 1825, the United States of America exported no less than 18,479 tons of pot and pearl ashes, worth £430,038, and England and her colonies form their principal market; for to these we find that she exported no less than 13,322 tons of the whole quantity.\* British India has never exported, or even manufactured, a grain of either commodity, although much of the country be still under forest;—although the manufacture of these articles would greatly add to the facility and profit of clearing the lands;—and although much of the forests in question are not far distant from the British capital, and have the convenient navigation of the Gange and its tributaries to the

\* A general statement of goods, wares, and merchandise, of the growth, produce, and manufacture of the United States, exported, commencing 1st October, 1826, and ending 30th September, 1827

very port of Calcutta. The Chinese have a fanciful taste for a certain root, called *ginseng*, which existing with them only in small quantities in the wilds of Tartary, brought in former times an enormous price. The Americans soon found out that the same root (*panax ginseng*) existed in the wilds of America; they acquired the art of preparing it for the Chinese market, and have since largely supplied the Chinese with it. This supply, of course, produced a great depreciation in the value of the article, and yet, notwithstanding, we find that the Americans in the season 1824--5 sold *ginseng* to the Chinese to the value of £39,064. Now, British botanists have discovered the same article in the British territories bordering on the Snowy mountains, but the art of curing it remains unknown, and the British trader has never supplied the Chinese with a single pound!

There is one article, however, the produce of the Indian forests, of which something has been made, not, however, by the East India Company, or by the native inhabitants, but by the free trader; this is *lac*, a production peculiar to India, and which, as is sufficiently known, is the nest or dwelling of a small insect abounding in a red colouring matter. The price of the best description of the crude article in the market of Calcutta is about 33s. per cwt. Some of the free settlers discovered the art of extracting the dye and rendering it fit for the European manufacturer. This valuable article is known in the market by the name of "lac dye," and is about nine times the value of the article as it was sent in ruder times to Europe. But to this value we must add again what is called "shell-lac," used in the making of varnish, and the manufacture of sealing-wax, and which is obtained in the same process. This will make the value of the whole produce by the new process, which is attended with little labour or expense, eleven times as great as that of the crude article! The Indians, after a time, acquired the art of preparing lac dye from the Europeans, but the manufacture conducted by the first is still superior in value to that conducted by the second by near 60 per cent! On the average of the years 1826 and 1827 the quantity of lac dye imported into England from Bengal, to which the manufacture is confined, was 744,184 lbs., and the value £107,121. This article, which is little more than a fourth part of the price of cochineal, has, in many cases, become a substitute for it in the dyeing of scarlets. Here then is a fair example, although

upon a small scale, of what European ingenuity is capable of effecting in improving the productions, and consequently the commercial intercourse with Europe, wherever there is the least room for its exercise.

If we look to the mining operations of the Indians, we shall find (as every one capable of taking a rational view of man in such a condition of society must expect) conspicuous examples of carelessness, incapacity, want of capital, and want of enterprise. The metals generally are not very abundant in the British dominions in India, but iron is plentiful enough, and even the supply of copper ore is said not to be deficient. The iron manufactured by native Indians is so bad that it is not of half the value of English iron, nor a third part of that of Swedish iron; in fact, when forged it loses one half its weight in dross. Mineral coal is found in many parts of the British dominions, and it is a singular proof in a country, where, for the most part, fuel is remarkably high priced,—of ignorance, poverty, and want of enterprise, that no coal mines were ever opened until this was done by private European speculators. At present, coal mines are wrought in one part of the country only, and this by a private European adventurer; but from the want of machinery, capital, and competition, and the inferiority of the coal, as is always found to be the case in the first stratum, the article is still dear, and not in adequate quantity, so that we find coals actually exported to the East India Company's possessions from Great Britain, in 1827, to the amount of 4127 tons, besides a large quantity brought from New South Wales, a country where British industry is differently regulated.

But it will be necessary to give a more detailed account of some of the staple articles of the Indian commerce, in order to illustrate the advantages derived from European industry, the mischiefs which arise out of its exclusion, and the long train of evils which originate in restrictions and monopolies. We shall select the articles of indigo, cotton, sugar, tobacco, coffee, and pepper, as the most prominent examples.

Indigo is the article which suffers the least from the pernicious interference of the monopoly, and nearly the only one which receives any considerable benefit from the direct application of European skill and capital. Europeans first began the culture and manufacture of indigo about forty-five years ago. What was manufactured by the natives of India prior to

that time was trash unfit for the European market, then almost wholly supplied by South America, which furnished England alone with about 1,200,000 lbs. weight. There are at present in Bengal 309 manufactories of indigo for exportation, of which thirty-seven only are conducted by natives, and these in imitation of the European process. The Indians, however, cannot even imitate us to **any** advantage with so many examples before them, and in full possession of all the land, to the complete exclusion of their competitors; for the indigo thus prepared is full 15 per cent. lower in value than that manufactured by Europeans; and as to indigo made by the old native process, it is still wholly unfit for the foreign market: and even when re-manufactured by Europeans, which is sometimes done, it is still, from the deterioration it has undergone in their hands, a very inferior commodity. The average yearly quantity of indigo produced for some time back in the British dominions in India has ranged from eight millions five hundred thousand to nine millions of pounds weight, worth from £2,700,000 to £3,300,000. Last year's produce, the greatest ever known, amounted to 12,000,000 of pounds weight. Here is a property worth, on an average, £3,000,000 per annum, created solely by the skill, capital, and enterprise of British-born subjects living in India, on mere sufferance. In 1786, the import of Bengal indigo into this country was 245,000 lbs. On the average of the four years ending with 1827, it amounted yearly to 6,054,799 lbs. an increase of nearly five and twenty-fold. Before Europeans undertook the culture and manufacture of Indian indigo, it was, as already stated, so bad as to be unsaleable in any foreign market. On an average it is now about 12½ per cent. better than South American indigo. In short, about four fifths of the consumption of Europe, Asia, and America, is now supplied with *good* Indian indigo, a commodity which, five and forty years ago, had no existence. The benefit which some of the most important manufactures of Great Britain derive directly from this improvement on the part of their countrymen in India, is too obvious to be insisted upon. On the average of the four years ending with 1828, the total yearly consumption of Great Britain was 2,421,879 lbs. of which one-eleventh part only was South American, the whole of the rest being East Indian. The benefit generally conferred by the manufacture of Indian indigo on the manufac-

tures and commerce of this country, amounts to this, that it is the principal, and nearly the only, means to be depended upon, which the monopoly-principle leaves open to enable India to pay for the manufactures of this country, and that it does so to the yearly value of three millions sterling.

All that can be said in respect to indigo is, that it *suffers less* than other articles from the injurious effects of the monopoly-principle. To say, however, that it does not suffer, would be most untrue. The prohibition to hold lands, or to take security on lands,—a tax equal to half the gross produce of the land imposed upon those who hold it;—the precarious and dependent footing of Europeans living beyond the protection of the King's Courts; the imperfect administration of justice in the interior;—and the hostile leaning of the Government and its agents towards all the private enterprises of British subjects,—are most serious obstacles to this branch of industry. One would, indeed, have thought, without knowing the results, that they must have proved insuperable impediments to a branch of industry which is the only one that Europeans have been able to prosecute with success in India upon a large scale. But the vigour and elasticity of British enterprise are capable of conquering many difficulties, and this is a proud example of it. The Company, indeed, does not directly engage in the culture of the plant or manufacture of the drug, and to this unusual forbearance may chiefly be ascribed the success of this branch of industry. The drug, however, is no sooner manufactured and arrives at the principal marts, than the usual interference of the Company commences. Under pretext of remitting revenue, they enter into a competition with the private dealer as purchasers in India, and as sellers in England, totally reckless of consequences to themselves or others, as must necessarily be the case with a body to whom commercial gain or commercial loss must be matter of equal indifference, since from the one they can derive no advantage, and since from the other the public alone must eventually suffer.

The following facts respecting the cotton trade will place the principle, which it is our object to illustrate, in a very clear point of view. In the year 1814, or the last of the East India Company's close monopoly, the quantity of cotton wool imported from India into Great Britain was 2,850,318 lbs.; in 1818 it rose to 67,456,411 lbs., but afterwards fell off greatly from

this amount, and on the average of the five years ending with 1827 it was only 18,821,217 lbs. The cause of this is obvious enough. The rude produce of unassisted native industry is wholly incapable of competing with the improved produce of European industry in the different colonies of America and elsewhere. The best East India cotton, which is that brought to this country, (for the coarsest is consumed on the spot, and the middling sort sent to China,) is inferior in value to the worst that is brought from any other country. It is, in short, nearly in the condition in which Indian indigo was before it was manufactured by Europeans. The East India cotton in the London market is inferior to the best West India cotton by threepence per pound. It is just of half the value of Berbice cotton. The best cotton of the Spanish main is by full 50 per cent. superior to it. Pernambuco and modern Egyptian cotton\* are at least 60 per cent. better, while it must not be forgotten that the old Levant cotton is just what it was before,—a coarse commodity, fit for no purpose but that of making candlewicks, to which it is well known to be appropriated. Bourbon, Manilla, and Sea Island cottons are superior in a still greater ratio. To what is such an inferiority owing, but to this, that the skill of Europeans is directed to the culture and preparation of all these varieties, while the East India cotton is left to the rude and slovenly industry of the native inhabitants? In fact, no attempt whatever has been made to improve the cotton of India. It is grown and prepared just as it was three hundred years ago, and in all likelihood three thousand. The soil and climate of India must not be blamed for this. They are equal in capability to those of any other portion of the tropical world

\* The reader is not to imagine that the Turks, or the Arabs, or the Copts of Egypt, acquired all at once the art of growing fine cotton, on the mere fiat of the Pacha. A Frenchman of the name of Jumel introduced a new species, or, at least, variety, of the plant, and instructed Mahomed Ali, his officers and slaves in general, in the European mode of cultivation and preparation. As appears from the examination of their mummies, the Egyptians seem to have been cultivating cotton to little purpose, as far as quality is concerned, for about four thousand years! Monsieur Jumel did more for the improvement of this branch of husbandry in a few months, than the primitive civilization of the East, when left to itself, had been able to effect in forty ages. So much for a people who, in manners, customs, and civilization, are said to bear the nearest resemblance, of all others, to the Hindoos!

and superior to the greater number. Cotton is not an article of difficult production, or one requiring a capricious selection of soil and climate. The enumeration of varieties which we have above given, shows that a moderate share of skilful culture is sufficient to bring it to perfection in any soil of competent fertility and suitableness in North and South America, in Africa, and in Asia, from the equator to the thirtieth degree of latitude, on both sides of it; and, in longitude, from the Philippine Islands, on the one side, round to the Mauritius on the other. Why, it may be asked, do not British-born subjects engage in the culture of cotton in the same manner in which they engage in the culture and manufacture of indigo? The answer is easy. The quantity of British capital which is allowed, under existing regulations, to benefit the agriculture of India, is comparatively trifling; and it is more advantageously employed in producing indigo than in improving cotton. A few hundred acres of land are sufficient to invest a large capital in indigo, and a very small number of Europeans is sufficient for superintendence. Thousands of acres would not be sufficient for the same investment of cotton. From the small number of Europeans, there could be no adequate superintendence over so wide an extent of country; and there could be no security against depredation, in a commodity far more liable to it than the other. Moreover, to improve the cotton of India, the present annual and coarse varieties must be supplanted by perennial and fine ones,—a circumstance which would occasion a complete revolution in this branch of husbandry,—a revolution which could only be effected by European proprietors or their tenants. Besides all this, the introduction of expensive machinery, both for cleaning and packing, would be necessary. What European in his senses, holding land at high rent from a native proprietor, from year to year, in a country where no civil suit is brought to trial under three years from its institution, and often not under seven; and where, by law, he may be removed from his property for ever, with or without offence, would enter upon so precarious a speculation?

It must not be inferred from what has here been stated, that the free enterprise and capital of Europeans have done nothing towards improving and extending the Indian cotton trade. They have effected a great deal which would have remained



undone without them. The whole trade in this article with China, one of the greatest branches of the Indian commerce, is of European creation. European capital and agency operating under the most vexatious restraints, is employed in collecting the cotton, and transporting it from the centre of India to the sea-ports, compressing it by European machinery when it arrives there, so as to reduce freights to half the old rates, and in furnishing shipping for its transport to China. This is the work of a few scattered Europeans, living in India on sufferance, and in open opposition to the principle of the monopoly. Englishmen, in general, are wholly excluded from a branch of trade which is of unlimited capability. Of this capability we may give the following example. The quantity of cotton wool brought to the market of Calcutta, in the year 1827, principally for exportation, amounted to 18,509,696 lbs. This, which forms the largest portion of the export trade of India in raw cotton, appears considerable, until compared in amount, and still more in value, to the export of the same commodity from the United States. The latter, in 1827, or the same year, amounted in quantity to 294,310,115 lbs. or to about fifteen times as much. The value of the East Indian produce on the spot was but £270,830, and that of America £6,330,651, being above three and twenty-fold the value of the Calcutta produce. Had the 18,509,696 lbs. of Bengal cotton, in lieu of being coarse and dirty, been equal in quality to the American cotton, instead of being worth £270,830, it would have been worth £398,138, or 47 per cent. more. Wherever we turn, evidence of this nature crowds upon us.\*

The consumption of cotton in Great Britain for the last ten years has been nearly doubled, and in 1828 it amounted to 732,152 *avg.*s. Let us see to what extent the British dominions in India, adding to them those of tributaries, with a suitable soil and climate, with 134,000,000 of inhabitants, and with 1,280,000 square miles of territory, have contributed, under the management of the East India Company, to the promotion of the greatest and most important of all our manufactures. On the average of the years 1827 and 1828, the annual consumption of Great Britain was 197,544,880 lbs.; of which the United States of America furnished 151,834,800 lbs.;

\* American exports and imports, for 1827.—*Calcutta Prices Current for 1827.*

Brazil, 17,754,880 lbs.; Egypt, 6,957,600 lbs.; the West Indies, 9,010,560 lbs.; and the East Indies, 11,987,040 lbs. The deductions to be made from this statement are sufficiently conclusive, but they are, at the same time, humiliating. We depend upon a rival commercial nation, and a nation which aims at becoming a manufacturing one in spite of nature and circumstances, for near seventy-seven parts in the hundred of the raw material of our great staple manufacture. The colony of a nation not only less civilized than our own, but emanating from one of the least civilized in Europe, furnishes us, from territories in the southern hemisphere, corresponding in latitude and in climate with much of the British dominions in the northern hemisphere, with nine parts in the hundred of our consumption. Egypt, where the growth of exportable cotton commenced only seven years ago, furnishes us with four parts in the hundred of all we consume; and the dominions of the East India Company, where British sovereignty has been established for sixty-four years, contributes only the pittance of seven parts in the hundred to the material of our staple manufacture. This is, however, very far from depicting the whole amount of the mischief done by the exclusion of European improvement from the soil of India, even in this limited view of the evil. The United States of America not only furnish us with above twelve times the quantity that the territories of the East India Company do, but that quantity being full fifty per cent. more valuable, the true amount contributed is in reality eighteen-fold as great. Brazil not only furnishes us with above forty-eight per cent. more in quantity than India does, but the quality of what she supplies being by seventy-five per cent. better, she necessarily supplies 160 per cent. more in value. But what is still more mortifying than all this, Mahomet Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, in as much as the average of his cotton is above 80 per cent. better than the average of Indian cotton, contributes more towards the support of our great staple manufacture than the Honourable East India Company by 5 per cent. It appears by the American accounts, that, in the official year ending the 30th of September, 1827, the United States exported to Great Britain and Ireland 212,707,481 lbs. of cotton wool, which would have afforded employment to about 118,170 tons of shipping \*. By the same

\* American exports and imports, for 1827.

accounts it appears, that of the tonnage which cleared out from the United States from Great Britain and Ireland in that year, 218,519 tons were American, and 99,114 only British. If the exportation of cotton wool was in a due proportion to that of other articles of merchandise, (and there is no reason for supposing that it was not,) it would necessarily have afforded employment to 81,297 tons of American shipping, but only to 36,873 tons of English shipping. On the other hand, were our East Indian possessions capable of supplying us with the cotton which we must now receive from the United States, the British tonnage employed, instead of being 36,873 tons, would, of course, amount to 118,170 tons, or there would be additional employment for British shipping to the extent of 81,297 tons. To what extent does the Indian cotton afford employment to British shipping? Just to the extent of 8,900 tons, as nearly as we can estimate it.\* If such statements as these,—statements which no ingenuity or artifice can gainsay, do not open the eyes of the merchants, the manufacturers, the shipowners, and the landholders of the United Kingdom; in short, of all who are interested in the honour, power, and prosperity of their country, to the flagrant evils inflicted by the system of exclusion, we know not what will.

The quantity of sugar imported into Great Britain from the East Indies, in 1814, was only 4,904,368 lbs.: in 1826 it rose to 38,399,536 lbs. No less than 20,859,440 lbs., or more than one-half of this last amount was the produce of the island of Mauritius; that is to say, the imports into this country from a small island with an area of 272,528 acres, one-eleventh part of which only is under any culture, and one-fifteenth only under the culture of the sugar-cane;—the imports from an island with a somewhat precarious climate, and a fertility of soil not very distinguished;—the imports from an island that at the utmost contains a population of no more than ninety-five thousand inhabitants; and, finally, the imports from an island of which the British nation had possessed the sovereignty but twelve short years, are greater in the grand staple of the tropical world, not only than those of all British India, of which we have possessed the sovereignty five times as long, with its area of

\* *East India trade*.—Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed: June, 1827.

600,000 square miles, its population of eighty-three millions, its fertile soil and its genial climate, but larger than those of the whole Eastern world put together, (the said small island excepted,) embracing a population of certainly not less than 300,000,000 of people. In the first year of the free-trade system, the importations of sugar from India rose to 13,923,616 lbs., or owing to the mere impetus given by the cheap freights and abundant capital of the English trader, they were augmented at once by near 65 per cent. The Indian sugars, however, could neither be imported good enough, nor cheap enough, for the consumption of Europe, and for some time the importations were little better than stationary. In due time, however, the manufacture of sugar commenced in the Mauritius, and within four years from the time that the system of free trade came into operation, there were imported from that island into Great Britain 5,678,888 lbs.; this was in 1819. In the following year there were imported from the same place 14,524,755; and in 1823, 27,400,887,—an augmentation of 382 per cent. in four years. It was not until 1823 that the duties on Mauritius sugars were equalized with those of plantation sugars, and the increased culture in consequence of this boon did not affect an earlier period in the Mauritius than 1827, when it was believed the produce of the island would equal fifty millions of pounds.

The inequality of duty between Mauritius and other East India sugars is not the cause that the trade in the one article has been stationary, and in the other advancing with an extraordinary rapidity of increase. A new soil, as yet unexhausted by bad husbandry, the introduction of European machinery, and the superintendence of European resident proprietors, are the true causes. During the last eight years there have been sent to the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, but chiefly to the latter, by a single iron-founder, no less than two hundred sugar mills,\* the greater number of them with steam-

\* Mr. William Fawcett, of Liverpool, a gentleman of great ingenuity, and who has for many years conducted one of the most extensive iron foundries in the kingdom. The value of mill-work and machinery exported to the Mauritius, in 1827, amounted, in value, to £44,532; while to the whole territories of the East India Company, adding to them the island of Ceylon, the exports were only £21,984; the greater part of the latter being for the use of the local government.\*

\* Imports and export. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. Feb

engines attached. To the territories of the East India Company not one has been sent. There, under the present system, no such improvements are introduced, or are capable of being introduced. The existing system is, in fact, based upon the exclusion of European skill and capital, which is equivalent to the exclusion of all effectual skill and capital, from the improvement of the soil and its productions. Consequently, the sugar-cane continues to be grown in continental India by the same rude husbandry, and to be manufactured by the same miserable process as, in all probability, it was three thousand years back.

A short description of the Indian modes of growth and manufacture will, at once, show the reader that it is hopeless to expect from them either a good or a cheap product. The grower is a miserable peasant, without skill and without capital, paying, as a tax, to the East India Company, from 50 to 60, and even 70 per cent. of the gross produce of the soil,—who neither manures his ground, understands how to relieve it by a rotation of crops, or makes any attempt whatever to improve the variety of the plant.\* The sugar-mill consists of two small rollers, from four to six inches in diameter, turned in opposition to each other, by two men, or by a wretched bullock. The boiling utensils are four small coarse earthen pots, of about the value of twopence. The grinding, boiling, and distilling-houses are one and the same, and consist of four stakes driven in the ground, with a mat over them for a roof. The first manufacturer carries the process no further than expissating the juice, the result being an ugly brown mass, containing both the sugar and molasses. This unsightly product is carried to another description of manufacturer, fifteen, twenty, or even a hundred miles off, who re-dissolves it, and, with the assistance of alkalis to neutralize the acid which has been

\* Thirty years ago the cane of Otaheite was introduced into the West Indies, and from its vast superiority over the old varieties cultivated, both as to quantity and quality of produce, it soon superseded all others; indeed it may be said to have produced a revolution in the value of the land. This great improvement has been introduced into Java, into the Philippine Islands, and universally adopted in the Mauritius. Not so in that portion of the Indies under the special protection of the Honourable the East India Company, where, down to the present day, it is as little known as the tree of knowledge.—*Moseley's Treatise on Sugar.*

generated through the tedious and paltry process of his predecessor, gets, after all, no more than 25 per cent. of sugar, and this ill granulated, and deficient in saccharine matter. What chance can such barbarous child's-play as this have, even in the fairest and openest competition, with the ingenuity, the judicious economy, the enterprise, the skill, the capital, the machinery, and, what is not less potent than all these, the commercial probity of the European colonist?

The sugar-cane is known to be an indigenous product of India, and in fact it is, more or less, a product of agriculture in every considerable country of the vast regions comprehended under that name, from the eighth degree of south, to the thirtieth degree of north latitude, and from Persia to China, both inclusive. Of all this wide extent, there is no portion more suitable to its growth than our own possessions. This, indeed, is a point so long admitted, that it would be useless to insist upon it. To produce sugar in abundance, and to produce it of the best quality, all that is requisite is to remove the idle and pernicious restraints on the settlement of Europeans. The effect of this must be the immediate application of European capital, skill, and machinery, to the production of the most important of all tropical commodities; and one without a free culture and free commerce in which, half our expectations of extended commerce with the East must end in disappointment.

Why, it may be asked, is the industry of the British sojourner in India not employed in the production of sugar as it is in that of indigo? The reason is obvious enough: more skill and more capital are required in the one pursuit than in the other: the culture of the indigo plant is simple, and the returns rapid; that of the sugar-cane comparatively complex and tedious. An indigo crop is reaped in three months from the time of sowing; a crop of sugar-cane takes four times as long to come to maturity. A crop of sugar-cane is liable to depredation in an open, unfenced, and unprotected country; one of indigo to hardly any at all. Indigo works, capable of producing yearly £10,000 worth of the dye, may be constructed for about the sum of £700; sugar works, capable of yielding a produce of equal value, would require an investment of capital to the amount of £24,000. Who would invest such a capital, in a country where he can neither buy nor sell land, nor take security upon land; where the judge and the magistrate are hostile,

because labouring under the usual prejudice and delusion of their caste; and where the administration of justice is in such a state that an appeal to it is nearly hopeless?

Indian tobacco is a still more deplorable example of the slovenliness of Indian husbandry than even cotton or sugar. This commodity has been so long and so generally cultivated, and used throughout Hindostan, that, although unquestionably a native of America only, some speculators have imagined the probability of its being also indigenous to India. Notwithstanding this long culture and long use, however, the tobacco of India, owing to the sheer ignorance and negligence of the native grower, is the very worst in the world, and nearly unfit for any foreign market; altogether so, indeed, for the market of Europe.\* We have in vain looked for the article of Indian tobacco in the prices current of Antwerp, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Hamburgh. Even in a London prices current we can discover it but occasionally. In fact, only a trifling quantity, scarcely worth naming, has now and then been imported for trial in the urgency and difficulty of finding remittances. The following is its condition:—The mere husbandry from the first is conducted in the most slovenly manner. In gathering, the footstalks are left appended to the leaves, with a due proportion of earth and sand. The bales are packed in a careless manner, and, consequently, the article is incapable of withstanding the effects of a long voyage. In short, the commodity reaches Europe in an unmarketable state, wholly unfit for competition with what has been grown, prepared, and brought to market by a more intelligent and skilful industry. The very lowest quality of American tobacco is worth in the London market 20 per cent. more than the best Indian tobacco. The average of all American tobaccos is above 150 per cent. better. The very finest tobacco of the United States is by 650 per cent. more valuable than the finest Indian tobacco brought to the London market. The reader is not to imagine that soil or climate has any thing to do with this inferiority. Tobacco is one of the most hardy and most universal of plants, having a geographical range of at least fifty degrees of latitude on each side

\* Trifling quantities of tobacco are sent to the Peguans and Malays, people less civilized than the Hindoos themselves. Such are the total exports in this great staple, by one hundred and thirty-four millions of people<sup>1</sup>

of the equator. Skill, industry, and capital alone are wanted to perfect it in India. Fine marketable tobacco is produced in the Island of Java, between the sixth and seventh degrees of south latitude, through Chinese industry, that country supplying nearly the whole eastern archipelago. Still finer is produced in the Philippines, in the sixteenth and seventeenth degrees of north latitude. Every portion of the Chinese empire yields good tobacco, and, notwithstanding the quantity of land employed in the production of food, exports fine tobacco cheap enough to supply the Chinese colonists of the neighbouring countries. In the western hemisphere, we find fine tobacco growing in Cuba, St. Domingo, and Porto Rico, from the eighteenth to the twenty-third degree of north latitude. In the Brazils, we have good tobaccos in the corresponding southern latitudes. In Europe, tobacco prospers in France, in the northern provinces of Holland, and in the Ukraine. The soil and climate of India, instead of being ill-suited for the production of good tobacco, it may be easily shown is even better adapted for the growth of this commodity than the active and industrious regions which now supply the United Kingdom with her principal consumption. The heat of the climate, if not favourable to the production of quantity, is unquestionably so to that of quality. The finest tobaccos in the world are produced in the warm climates of Cuba, St. Domingo, and Porto Rico. Even in the American markets these bring a higher price than any tobaccos of native growth. On the other hand, in the markets of Europe generally, the tobacco of Holland is in price and estimation greatly below any American tobacco, and that of the Ukraine, probably the joint effect of slovenly culture and unsuitable climate, is the worst which is known in the markets of continental Europe. Now it is natural to believe that the culture of this plant is at least as skilfully and carefully conducted in France and Holland as in the United States. The inferiority of the product, therefore, would seem to show that the climate of Europe, although the plant grew in it vigorously, is, upon the whole, ill-suited to its production. In Holland, the culture of tobacco is at present not only free from all restraint and from all duty, but protected by an impost on the foreign article, and yet, notwithstanding this, American tobacco is better and cheaper, and the great consumption of the country is in the latter article.



With respect to the suitability of India for the growth of tobacco, it deserves notice that the finest sorts already grown there, are produced in latitudes exactly corresponding with those of the countries which we have just quoted, as yielding the commodity in the greatest perfection. In one or two districts, indeed, even native industry has succeeded in producing some fine parcels. It is from these that the celebrated snuff of Masulipatam is manufactured; but the reader must not imagine that this is the product of native ingenuity. The natives were first instructed in the art of preparing it by the French, and those who are curious in tracing inventions, will find it to this day invariably packed in bottles of French manufacture.

In the year 1827, the quantity of unmanufactured tobacco imported into Great Britain was 33,459,897 lbs., and of manufactured, 117,566 lbs., making a total of 33,577,463 lbs., of which the quantity retained for home consumption was 18,695,779 lbs. Of the whole imports, the United States of America furnished 32,736,585 lbs., and the territories of the East India Company 5,849 lbs., or in the proportion of one to 5,596! Of the quantity furnished by the East India Company, 983 lbs. only, worth £8 3s. 10d., consisted of unmanufactured tobacco. The manufactured tobacco amounted to 4,866 lbs., and this consisted of snuff and cigars; the first, originally at least, a French manufacture, as already stated, and the second, to this day a manufacture of certain Dutch colonists, resident in the British territories. The gross revenue derived by the United Kingdom from tobacco, in the same year, amounted to £2,835,584, of which the United States of America appear to have furnished £2,743,975, or about ninety-six parts in the hundred; and the territories of the East India Company, supposing the whole of the tobacco imported by them to have been consumed in the United Kingdom, just £2,336, or in the proportion of about one to 1174 of the American contribution. So much for the aid given by our Indian possessions towards the public revenue!

According to the American official statements of exports and imports for 1827, the United States furnished Great Britain and her colonies with 36,726 hogsheads of unmanufactured tobacco, equal to afford freight for 18,463 tons of shipping. According to the proportion already stated of the respective quantities of American and British tonnage employed in the

export trade of the United States with Great Britain, 12,702 tons of this would have consisted of American shipping, and but 5,761 of English. Were India to produce the commodity in the same perfection as America, there would here be room for the employment of 18,463 tons of shipping, instead of 5,761 tons, and this, along with the cotton already named, would make above 136,000 tons. The quantity of shipping employed in the conveyance of unmanufactured tobacco from the British possessions in India to Great Britain, in 1827, amounted only to 83 lbs. beyond three quarters of a ton ! We do not mean to assert that even under the most favourable auspices, India could, or ought to be made to supply the whole demand of the United Kingdom, either in cotton or in tobacco. But that, under a colonial system of any ordinary merit, she would supply a great deal which she does not now supply, appears to us self-evident. Such suggestions as these are not only of value to our Indian subjects, but we must also add, that when a nation, in friendship with us, places our exports under restraints, equally hurtful and impolitic to both parties, it may be useful to point out to her that we have in our hands, through the simple and natural expedient of fair trade and free settlement, the ample and just means of retaliation.

Of coffee, as the growth of British India, we have very little to say, because, in reality, the production of this article is too trifling to give room for details. Small quantities of coffee have been produced, for some years back, by European speculators in the southern parts of India, but it will scarcely be credited, and yet it is strictly true, that the coffee plant, introduced a century ago into every genuine colonial possession of European nations, whether in Asia or in America,\* should only have been introduced into Bengal in the year 1823, and this, too, although its native country be within the limits of the East India Company's monopoly, and although the Company's territory be nearer to, and has had all

\* " In 1718 the Dutch began to cultivate coffee in Surinam ; in 1721 the French began to cultivate it at Cayenne ; in 1727 at Martinico ; and in 1728 the English began to cultivate it in Jamaica."—A treatise concerning the properties and effects of coffee, by Benjamin Moseley, M. D. " In the year 1752, or seventy-seven years ago, the export of coffee from Jamaica was estimated at 60,000 lbs. weight, which is a great deal more than all British India at present exports of its own growth."—*Ibid.*

along a far more extensive intercourse with, Arabia than any of the parties which have elsewhere cultivated the plant so early and so successfully. A few enterprising and intelligent Europeans, encouraged thereto by the promise of permission to hold lands on lease, (for this purpose only,) commenced the cultivation in the year which we have mentioned, and small quantities of coffee of excellent quality have been already produced. There is no article of colonial produce which illustrates in a more forcible manner the beneficial effects of European care and superintendence than coffee. In fact, the success with which it is grown and brought to market affords no mean test of the civilization of the nation or party producing it. Its geographical limits embrace at least thirty degrees on each side of the equator. It is a hardy plant, easily acclimated; nor is it remarkably fastidious, even in point of localities, preferring only mountainous tracts unfit for the growth of grain, the sugar cane, cotton, and other staples. It is only necessary to cast our eye over a common prices current to discover the comprehensive range which the successful culture of this plant embraces. First of all we have it in its parent country, Arabia, and then we have it in Java, Sumatra, Celebes, the Malayan peninsula, the Philippine Islands, the Island of Ceylon, and recently in continental India, nearly from Cape Comorin to the twenty-third degree of latitude. Again, we have it in almost the whole of the West Indian Islands, in Brazil, Guiana, Colombia, and Mexico. If we except its parent country, where it still continues to be grown in the greatest perfection, owing to localities or circumstances in cultivation with which Europeans are unacquainted, it will be found that its quality, everywhere else, rises in proportion to the quantity of skill, intelligence, and capital employed in its cultivation. Of this we shall give a few examples. The best coffee which comes into the English market, excepting Mocha, is Demerara, which, on an average, is, at present, worth 58s. per cwt.; then we have Jamaica worth 51s., Java and Havanah worth 40s., Brazil worth 38s., St. Domingo worth 37s., and Sumatra and Ceylon worth only 34s. Looking at this list, and adverting to the character of the countries which produce them, we can have no hesitation in pronouncing that soil and climate, however favourable, confer little advantage, except in so far as they admit of a more favourable, and,

consequently, of a more careful and intelligent husbandry, and that, generally speaking, all depends upon the skill of the planter, and the address with which he brings his produce to the market. The produce of Demerara is superior to the produce of Jamaica, only because the greater extent of good land, and its superior fertility in that colony, admit of a more successful culture. The produce of Jamaica is no less than 27 per cent. better than those of the far superior islands of Cuba and Java, a difference which can only be accounted for by the superior skill of the Jamaica planter, over the Spanish planter, in Cuba, and over the Government monopolists in Java. The produce of Cuba, on the other hand, is five per cent. better than the produce of Brazil, which must be accounted for also by the superiority of the Spanish over the Brazilian cultivator, for the soil of Brazil is at least equal to that of Cuba, while its climate approaches nearer to that of the parent country of coffee. The coffee of St. Domingo, once the best in the West Indies, is now excelled by that of Jamaica by above 33 per cent.; but the intelligence of the English planter is engaged in producing the one, while the other is consigned to the rude and slovenly management of a semi-barbarous people. The lowest qualities of coffee in the European market are those of Sumatra and Ceylon, which are grown, with little or no European superintendence, by two of the most uncivilized races in Asia, the Singalese and Malays.

The total quantity of coffee imported into all Europe in the year 1826, was 85,200 tons, and the consumption was estimated at 73,000 tons. In 1827, the importation was 111,600 tons, and the consumption 95,600 tons. In 1828, the importation was 108,400 tons, and the consumption 96,000 tons,—the price in the latter instance having risen by 25 per cent. which shows that the supply, great as it appears to be, is still unequal to the demand. The average of the two last years' importations quoted, gives 110,000 tons, which, at 50s. per cwt. shows that a commerce in this single article is conducted by the European nations with the tropical regions of the world to the extent of £5,500,000 per annum. To what extent does the United Kingdom and her East Indian Colonies participate in, or contribute to this great and important branch of trade? In 1826, England imported 17,800 tons of coffee, while the single port of Hamburgh imported 17,600 tons, and the king-

dom of the Netherlands 29,200 tons. In 1827, England imported 21,400 tons, while Hamburgh imported 23,800 tons, and the Netherlands 36,300 tons. In 1828, England imported only 16,500 tons, whereas Hamburgh imported 22,000 tons, and the United Netherlands 40,900 tons, or no less than 147 per cent. more than the great emporium of European commerce.

Of the 21,400 tons of coffee imported by Great Britain in 1827, there was imported from the territories of the East India Company only 1683 tons, the whole (within a trifle not worth naming) consisting of the coffee of Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, and Mocha, brought for the most part circuitously and inconveniently to Great Britain through her Indian possessions. From these possessions little or no coffee is sent any where else than to England. Taking, therefore, the same valuation as in the former case, the territories of the East India Company contribute to a branch of trade amounting to £5,500,000 to the extent only of £84,150, or to little more than one-sixty-fifth part of the whole!

While the exclusion of European capital and industry in India has hindered the culture of coffee in that country, it is instructive to learn what the capital and industry of an inferior people has been able to accomplish in Brazil, a country, as we have already said, which, of all others, bears, in soil and climate, the nearest resemblance to our Eastern possessions. In the year 1820 the quantity of coffee produced in Brazil amounted only to 14,900,000 lbs.; in 1822 it was 24,300,000 lbs.; in 1824 36,700,000 lbs.; in 1826 41,600,000 lbs.; and in 1827 57,900,000 lbs. Here is an increase, in seven years, of 43,000,000 lbs. The culture of coffee has been prosecuted in the territories of the East India Company for a longer period than the one now stated; but the produce, instead of having increased, as in this case, by 288 per cent. is so trifling, in amount, that the commodity is not known, even by name, in the market of Europe. This is a fair example of the effects of colonization, under very unfavourable auspices, and of the consequences of restraints and exclusions, under as favourable ones as can easily be imagined, for, in the first case, we have Portuguese colonists, with slaves for labourers, and in the last, English capitalists, and a population of freemen to cultivate the soil.

Of pepper we have but a few words to say. The only por-

tions of the Continental dominions of the East India Company, where pepper is grown, is the coast of Malabar; and from thence Europe was, at one period, supplied with the largest portion of its consumption. That part of India (to judge from etymological evidence) is the parent country of the plant, from whence, however, it has spread to other parts of India, being, at the same time, still confined to the Eastern world. The total produce of pepper for exportation has been estimated at 42,812,500 lbs., of which Malabar produces only 2,412,500lbs., or little more than one-seventeenth part. In 1812 the produce of pepper in Malabar was 3,238,540 lbs. In 1826 it fell to 2,412,500lbs. The cause of this decrease in the cultivation is but too obvious: a heavy export duty was at first levied upon the commodity, and then a land-tax still heavier, in the absurd and vexatious form of a tax on each plant. The discussion of the East India Company's servants, respecting the mode of levying duties on this article, are exceedingly curious.\* One officer proposed an export duty of twenty-seven per cent., without considering that the Act of Parliament of 1813 did not authorize the local government to impose new duties of customs, without certain inconvenient references to England. Another, more knowing, proposed to evade the law by substituting a land-tax equal to one-fourth of the gross produce, which, in fact, as in that thinly-peopled country, where lands fitted for the growth of the pepper vine exist in an abundance too great to be occupied, and where, consequently, no rent can exist, was virtually a kind of excise upon capital. The land-tax, for reasons evident enough, was preferred. In the meanwhile, the culture of pepper was carried on in Sumatra, Siam, and other barbarous countries free from land-tax, free from rent, and free, for the most part, from export duties; nay, what is more remarkable still, it was carried on under circumstances equally favourable in one of the Company's own Eastern possessions. It was not in nature that the inhabitants of Malabar should have been able to carry on the culture of pepper with such competition, and, consequently, the pepper gardens fell into decay, or were abandoned. It is now understood that the tax has been withdrawn, but in all probability after the irretrievable ruin of the pepper trade. This is a good instance of the indiscriminate, short-sighted, and inju-

\* Revenue Selections, vol 3, p. 549.

ditional rapacity of the Indian Government, and a striking example of that ignorance of general principles which has often characterized its fiscal arrangements. In the year 1824, the quantity of pepper imported by Great Britain was 8,801,634 lbs., and the exports 2,923,396 lbs. In the same year the United States of America imported 3,306,954 lbs., and exported 2,236,933 lbs. The exports of Great Britain, in proportion to her imports, therefore, were as thirty-four to a hundred, while those of America were in the proportion of sixty-eight to a hundred, or, in other words, exactly twice as great; but this is by no means all the difference in favour of the latter: for, independent of the exports from America direct, to which alone we have now alluded, she furnishes, from the places of growth, the greater part of the consumption of the Continent of Europe as well as that of Barbary, Egypt, Asiatic Turkey, and South America; in short, the principal part of the trade in this article is in her hands, while Great Britain, or at least the mother country, has no trade whatever of the same description.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the chief remedy for the evils which we have pointed out in the foregoing pages is European settlement, or, more explicitly, the introduction of European example—of European skill—of European enterprise, and of European capital. The following are samples of the arguments, if we may use such a name for them, which have been adduced by the advocates of monopoly against it. The Indians are a peculiar and a timid race, and if Europeans were permitted to hold lands, they would, in due course, dispossess the native inhabitants. Englishmen are a brutal race of men, excepting always the monopolists and their servants, and, if permitted to mix indiscriminately with the Indians, they would offer such violence to the peculiar usages of the native inhabitants, that the latter would be utterly disgusted—rebel against their masters, and expel these masters the country. If Europeans were to settle in India, they would soon colonize the country, and then Great Britain would lose her Indian possessions exactly in the same manner in which she lost her American colonies. If we civilize the Indians, or, in other words, if we govern them well, these Indians will become wise and enlightened—rebel against us, expel us the country, and establish a native government. By way of corollary to

these ominous and terrible objections, it is directly or indirectly insinuated that the East India Company is the fittest of all human instruments for governing the Indians,—that nature, as if it were, intended them for each other,—from all which it necessarily follows, that there is no governing India unless the administration monopolizes its commerce,\*—that the Indians are enamoured of monopolies of the necessities of life, or of staple articles of trade,—that they are generally fond of paying heavy and fluctuating taxes, instead of light and definite ones, such, for example, as paying yearly 50 or 55 per cent. of the gross produce of the land to the Company, instead of a fixed and moderate land-tax,—that they are especially fond of being excluded from all offices of honour, trust, or emolument, having an odd predilection for placing their lives, liberties, and properties, at the discretion of the Honourable Company,—and, in short, that all innovation being hateful to them, they abhor change, even when it is from absolute evil to positive good. There are few who will think a serious refutation

\* In the parliamentary investigation which preceded the renewal of the Charter, no point was more insisted upon than the danger and inexpedience of separating the commercial from the political authority. The power of the Company to carry on the administration, it was roundly asserted, would be weakened by such separation. This, in short, was to insist that an union which was scouted throughout civilized Europe, and which existed, even in Asia, only under the worst and most barbarous governments, which was not found in China, or in Japan, or in Persia, or in Arabia, and to which even Hindostan was a stranger, under all previous forms of government, was good and indispensable under the government of the East India Company. Adam Smith says, that, in all political questions affecting their own interests, *the very advice* of merchants should be viewed with distrust. He certainly makes no exception in favour of merchants exercising a monopoly, still less of merchants exercising the powers of government, and whose interests are not only opposed to those of the public, but to those of all other merchants. The proposition that a monopoly of trade in the ruling authority is useful and necessary towards carrying on the political concerns of a great empire, is indeed too monstrous for reply. The French ministry, since the restoration, when pressed to abolish the monopoly of tobacco, admitted that if any other means could be devised of raising an equal revenue they would be happy to be relieved from “the too onerous charge of superintending the culture and manufacture of tobacco.” Here we have the East India Company praying to be burthened with the whole details of the commerce of the East, and even insisting that it is unable to carry on the political business of a mighty empire without it!



of such absurdities necessary; but in case there should be any, we offer to them the following explanations, beginning with a short review of the conduct pursued by the rest of mankind in all ages, in situations and circumstances parallel to our own.

One would expect, from the assertions of the advocates of restrictions, that such relations as subsist between the people of India and ourselves had no parallel in the history of the world. There are, however, many cases exactly similar in every essential point, and we shall advert to a few of them. The Mahomedans of Persia and Tartary kept these same Hindoos in subjection for full seven centuries. They were rude, they were intolerant, they persecuted for conscience's sake. They were, at first at least, necessarily ignorant of the language, manners, and habits of the aboriginal inhabitants; and when they became acquainted with them, it was only to treat them with derision or contempt. They altered the whole laws of the kingdom; they imposed Mahomedan institutions, and a Mahomedan language. Yet, with all this, there were few insurrections against their authority; and in the above long period of seven centuries not one successful case of rebellion. One race of Mahomedans, and one dynasty succeeded to another race and another dynasty, in the dominion of India. The patient and docile Hindoos quietly looked on, and paid their homage and their taxes to each successive conqueror. In a word, they submitted to braver and more civilized races than themselves, which was in the natural order of things. The Mahomedans were not prohibited from occupying the soil: they, in fact, became possessed of extensive estates in land throughout the country; but the Hindoos were not, in consequence, dispossessed. The Moslems constitute, at present, through emigration or conversion, full one-seventh part of the whole population; that is, they amount to perhaps fifteen millions of settlers. Still the Hindoos held, after so many centuries of rude dominion, by far the larger portion of the land, down to the moment when we ourselves became possessed of the sovereignty of the country. This is rather a strong case. It may be rationally asked, will one of the most civilized and humane of the nations of Europe, in a civilized age, act a worse, or a weaker part than the semi-barbarians of Persia and Tartary, in a very barbarous one? Will any one be so irrational as to

argue, or any one credulous enough to believe, that the policy on which these semi-barbarians acted—not only with safety but with utility—nay, upon which their very existence depended, may not be pursued, at least with impunity, by the European administration of India, backed by the resources of a civilized, powerful, enterprising, brave, and ambitious nation? Are we, through clumsy misrepresentation, and a fictitious picture of national manners incompatible with history and with human nature, to be cheated out of our common sense into a belief that the very circumstances which enabled our predecessors to make and to maintain conquests, are to cause the destruction of ours? These predecessors acquired dominion, and they kept it for whole centuries, through mere fortuitous emigration and settlement, and without any external support. We, on the contrary, have the systematic support of a powerful and willing nation. Yet, in the very same spot, we are told that the dominion of one set of conquerors is to be overthrown by the exact same means by which that of another was created and maintained. We beg our easy, good-natured, but idle countrymen, in judging of this very plain matter, to bring to their aid a small portion of that common sense which they are so fond of having ascribed to them on ordinary occasions, and not suffer themselves to be deluded into a belief that what may be dangerous to a monopoly of patronage, is equally so to the interests of the state!

One of the most remarkable examples of dominion maintained by foreign conquerors for a succession of ages without revolt, rebellion, or expulsion of the conquerors, there being neither prohibition to the conquerors to own land, or colonize in any other manner whatsoever, is that exercised by the present race of Tartars over the vast empire of China, containing double the area, and near twice the population of our East Indian dominions. If the circumstances of this dominion be considered, it will be found a much more wonderful event than even the establishment of our own extraordinary empire.<sup>2</sup> A mere tribe of shepherds, having nothing but their good swords to rely upon, effected the conquest of the greatest and most civilized empire in the East, in a far shorter time than was taken in the formation of our Eastern dominion, and they have kept peaceable possession for 168 years. They govern that empire apparently without any extraordinary difficulty, and

with as few insurrections as can well be expected in an over-peopled country, liable from that circumstance to dearths and famines, and consequently to the anarchy and disorder which arise out of them. They go a little farther than we do; maintaining the military power, they surrender the civil into the hands of the native inhabitants; we are not quite so generous; we seize the whole military and the whole civil power, to the entire exclusion of the conquered; we take the most effectual means to exclude capital from the country, as well as to withhold from the Hindoos the example of morals, industry, arts, and science; and we end by pronouncing such a form of administration the most acceptable, popular, and appropriate which human wisdom could devise for the government of eighty or ninety millions of people, fifteen thousand miles distant from the power that essentially rules them. What figure would the conquerors of China have made in maintaining their dominions, had they contented themselves with the expedient of sending an army of some forty thousand men, with a few civil functionaries from the wilds of Tartary, to the rigid exclusion of the settlement and colonization of the rest of their countrymen? The Chinese, united and intelligent far beyond the inhabitants of Hindostan, would not have endured the silly experiment for a moment; and fortunately for the Manchou Tartars, they had no East India Company to persuade them into such a blunder.


The illustration afforded by the history of Turkish and Russian conquest and dominion is, perhaps, more in point than any others, and we shall briefly refer to them. The history of Turkish conquest is shortly, but with sufficient accuracy, as follows:—A tribe of shepherds from Tartary wrests its Asiatic dominions from the remnant of the Roman Empire,—passes the Hellespont,—overwhelms the most civilized state of the fifteenth century, and keeps possession of the finest portions of Europe for three hundred and seventy-six years, the conquerors, even when fully settled and colonized, not exceeding in number one-fifth part of the conquered inhabitants; many of the latter being scarcely less warlike than themselves;—being for the most part opposed to them in religion, manners, and interests; and being, moreover, excited to, or abetted in, rebellion for at least a century back by a powerful and warlike neighbour. To what are we to ascribe this permanency in the

Turkish dominion, under auspices apparently so unpropitious? No doubt in a great measure to the same causes which give stability to our own dominion in India, and which promise, under almost any probable circumstances, however blundering and unskilful our management, to give it a long duration, namely, the diversity of languages, manners, religions, and interests of the conquered; their ignorance of, and indifference to, political freedom, and the facility consequent upon all this, of employing them as tools for securing each other's submission. About a dozen nations speaking as many languages form the aggregate of the Turkish population. Among twenty-four millions of people, the conquerors scarcely form, throughout, above one-fifth part; yet this fraction has been sufficient, taking the average of Turkish conquests, to have maintained a dominion of four centuries' duration. It is needless to add, that the making and maintaining of the Turkish conquests has depended solely on the principle of settlement and colonization. Two millions of Turks, possessing as governors no good quality, save personal courage, have, when settled in Europe, proved adequate to a long maintenance of authority over eight millions of Christians, and others; but surely nine hundred or a thousand Turks, the proportion of the English to their Indian subjects, never could have effected such a purpose. The extravagant and unprofitable experiment, which the skill of the English on the one side, and the superior docility of the Hindoos on the other, has rendered practicable in our case, would, in reference to the blundering barbarism of the Turks, and the superior energy and intelligence of their subjects, be too ridiculous to imagine.

The history of Russian conquests is still more to our purpose. The Russians proceed on principles diametrically opposite to those we have adopted in our Indian administration, and it is obvious to common sense, that they owe their success and their security to doing so. The nations subject to the Russian dominion amount to about seventeen millions of people spread over an area said to be equal to a ninth part of the habitable globe, and that part too, one abounding in extraordinary difficulties of communication. Russia, like Great Britain and Turkey, owes, no doubt, much of the facility with which she maintains her dominion, to the diversity of tribes, religions, languages, customs, and modes of civilization almost


infinite, which prevail among the people subject to her authority. Among these there are about sixty distinct nations, with as many languages ; and, as to forms of religion, we have the Christian and Mahomedan, with all their sects ; we have Jews, Hindoos, worshippers of fire, and followers of the Grand Lama. The aggregate of energy, of the warlike spirit, and of the rude spirit of independence, is, however, far greater in the conquered subjects of Russia, than in the Indian population subject to Great Britain. If to this, again, we add the inferior resources of Russia, in comparison to England, or, what is the same thing, her inferior civilization, and we take also into account the greater distance of her resources, or, what is equivalent to this, her inferior means of speedy communication with her distant conquests, we shall be convinced, at once, that the task which Russia has to perform, in maintaining her dominion, is a far more difficult and gigantic one than ours in maintaining our Indian.

Is it by creating monopolies ; by excluding the conquered nations from all share in their own government ; by confiding the administration to a little band of the friends of monopoly, taken at haphazard from the conquerors : is it by prohibiting the colonization and settlement of Russian merchants, lest Russian merchants, by their violence, should excite rebellion, or by their coarseness and immorality pollute her Bashkires, her Buriats, and her Calmoaks,—that Russia has proved so eminently successful in holding a most discordant mass of conquered people in easy subjection ? With respect to monopolies, there exists but two throughout the Russian dominions, originally conquered, or acquired by cession, those of ardent spirits and of salt.\* In every thing else industry and commerce are perfectly free, and no distinction is drawn between the conquerors and the conquered. With respect to exclusion from office there is none. In Russia, every office is open to every class of the inhabitants, nay, foreigners are admitted to the greater number. This is not a matter of virtue but of necessity on the part of the Russian Government. The task

\* The Russian salt monopoly is extremely mild ; it is, in fact, little more than a piece of imperial ostentation, and brings  little revenue to the state. The Government supplies the whole empire at the same price, and that price does not exceed 21d. per bushel.

of administration, in fact, is rather too difficult to be trifled with, and therefore talent and fitness have some preference over favour. Were the Tartars as docile as the Hindoos, and as good tax payers, we have no doubt the Russian Autocrat and his Ministers would soon contrive to make a civil appointment to Siberia or Kamschatka worth, like an English one to Hindostan, four or five thousand pounds sterling.\*

With respect to colonization, every one knows that it is the policy of Russia, not only not to discourage it, but to give it the most positive encouragement. The Russian Government having no preserve of patronage to hedge in,—no territorial resources to throw away, affects no unfounded jealousy of Russian subjects. On the contrary, it has recourse to colonization as the cheapest, safest, and most efficacious means of maintaining its authority in its distant possessions. This course it has systematically pursued for full three centuries, and with a safety, success, and advantage which are sufficiently known. Russians are found as colonists from Wologda and Woronesch to Kamschatka and to Chinese Tartary. But the liberality of Russia is far from being confined to native Russians, or to Russian subjects. The Russian Government may be said to invite all the world to settle in its dominions, and to have no more apprehension of strangers than of its own subjects. Among colonists of the latter description are to be found Servians, Albanians, Wallachians, Moldavians, Poles, Germans, French, and even English and Hindoos! The Germans alone amount to near half a million. Has the misconduct of these colonists driven the conquered inhabitants into rebellion?—have they polluted the simple manners of the natives; or have they proved idle and useless intruders where they have settled? Quite the contrary;—they have raised flourishing cities in the heart of Siberia; explored mines of the useful and precious metals in the same country; cleared, cultivated, and peopled the desert banks of the Wolga,

\* The following (in 1823) is the testimony of Malte-brun (no admirer either of the Russians or their Government) touching the conduct of Russia to her conquered subjects. After observing that all forms of worship are free, he proceeds thus,—“Le gouvernement Russe respecté, avec une politique éclairée, tous les droits acquis, tous les privilèges de provinces, de  de classes; les seuls, changemens que les peuples conquis éprouvent, sont, en général, favorables à la liberté personnelles, industrielle et religieuse.”—*Precis de la Géographie Universelle*.—T. vi.

and, by the introduction of the silk-worm, the vine, and the olive, given a new character and a new aspect to the Crimea.\*

Such are the cheap, natural, and efficient means by which the Russian Government not only holds in subjugation wild, disorderly hordes of barbarians, often 3000 miles distant from its natural frontier, but by which it promotes the civilization of these hordes, cultivates and improves its territory, and extends and confirms its own authority. Instead of pursuing this obvious course, how would matters have stood with Russia had she followed the policy we have pursued in India? What figure would the Russians have made in maintaining their authority over such countries as Astrachan, Siberia, the Crimea, Georgia, or the Mahomedan provinces recently acquired from Persia, had the Czar delegated his power to a joint stock company of Russian merchants residing in St. Petersburg, bolstering up their authority by a monopoly of the trade with China, and conferring upon them the exclusive right of vending tea, now a necessary of life in Russia, to the rest of his subjects?

Our own country affords remarkable examples of a peaceful submission to foreign conquerors, and of the benefits derived from the amalgamation of conquerors with conquered. The Romans (the relative states of society in the world being considered) were, when they conquered Britain, substantially as distant from it as we are now from India; yet they subjugated a people more brave, more untractable, more untameable than the Hindoos—occupying a country less accessible to invasion and conquest; and, imposing upon them their language, laws, and institutions, held them in peaceful subjection for between three and four centuries. There was no prohibition to Roman subjects to settle, to colonize, or, in a word, to improve the natives by their capital, their industry, or their example. The stability of the Roman dominion appears to have been confirmed by a policy the very reverse of this. Hume, speaking of Agricola, the ablest and the wisest of the conquerors of

\* To these advantages, derived from the principles of colonization, may be added, the growing trade of Russia with China, which is now established at two other places on the frontier besides Kiachta. The extent of this branch of trade may be inferred from the quantity of tea, 25,200,000 lbs. yearly imported and consumed by the Russians. It appears from this that the commerce of Russia with China is only second in importance to that of Great Britain.

Britain, eulogizes him in the following strain, for doing that which a company of merchants would have us believe must ruin us:—"He introduced law and civility among the Britons, taught them to desire and raise all the conveniences of life, reconciled them to the Roman language and manners, instructed them in letters and science, and employed every expedient to render those chains which he had forged both easy and agreeable to them. The inhabitants having experienced how unequal their own force was to resist that of the Romans, acquiesced in the dominion of their masters, and were gradually incorporated in that mighty empire."—The Romans were succeeded by the Saxons, a rude and ferocious people, who were equally successful in maintaining their authority. The Saxons were succeeded by the Danes, and these by the Normans. The Ancient Britons *never* regained their independence. In fact, where shall we find in the page of history one example of a rude people permanently conquered by a brave and more civilized race than themselves, regaining their liberty and independence, and expelling their conquerors? Another race of foreign conquerors may supplant us in India; but we have nothing whatever to fear from its native inhabitants. The people of the East are, and have been in all ages, more passive and pusillanimous than the people of the West. The dark-coloured races are more passive than any of the fairer races of men. The Roman dominion over the more manly and freer nations of the West scarcely lasted six hundred years; over the timid and subservient nations of the East it lasted one thousand years longer:—such a prospect as this ought to satisfy our thirst for oriental dominion.

The first argument of the monopolists against permitting Englishmen to hold lands in India, and to settle in the country, is the imagined risk which would arise from it, of imposing upon the facility and simplicity of the natives, and hence, by fraud or violence, dispossessing them of their lands, reducing them to the condition of helots, or exterminating them as if they had been North American savages. Such an event has never occurred in the world, in any period of the history of mankind, unless in a very few insulated cases of the most barbarous conquerors, in the rudest ages, and yet, to serve an interested purpose, it is now imagined to be quite possible of Englishmen, and in the nineteenth century.



The only spots within our immense dominions, in which Englishmen are permitted to hold lands, are the towns of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Prince of Wales's Island, Singapore, and Malacca. There they hold lands generally on the same conditions, and under the same laws with the natives. These (and they are so many little Tadmors amidst a vast desert of despotic misrule and insecurity) are the only spots in which English capital can be invested in the soil; whereas, native capital has the range of some 600,000 square miles. It might be expected, then, that under these circumstances Europeans would be the holders of the greater portion of the landed property in such settlements: the very reverse is the case. The Indians are the holders of all the native buildings in Calcutta, of all the public markets, and of the majority of the houses built by or for Europeans. This is still more remarkably the case at Madras. At Bombay the greater portion of the landed property of the island is owned by the Persees. At Prince of Wales's Island, Malacca, and Singapore, the Chinese, and natives of Malabar, share at least equally with Europeans in the property of the soil.

The limited and partial experiments made elsewhere, show, in a manner the most indisputable, that wherever Europeans have established themselves, their presence has not only not alienated the affections of the native inhabitants, but been productive of unmingled good.\* In the single article of indigo, their skill has created a property to the yearly value of two millions sterling, an effectual addition to the real wealth and resources of the country, greater than it can rationally be proved, the East India Company has produced in two whole centuries. The introduction of the indigo culture into a district is notoriously the precursor of order, tranquillity, and satisfaction: wealth is diffused through it; and the public burdens, levied before with difficulty, and often only with the aid of a military force, are punctually

\* Bishop Heber, with his usual good sense and freedom from those local prejudices, so apt to bewilder the judgment of other Indian observers, insists upon the necessity of "encouraging instead of forbidding the purchase of lands by the English." On the desirableness of this last measure, as the most probable means of improving the country, and attaching the peasantry to our Government, says he, "I find, in Calcutta, little difference of opinion."—*Heber's Journal*, vol. ii, p. 306.

discharged. Even the advocates of the system of restriction are obliged to confess this beneficial result. We have not time for much quotation, and therefore we shall content ourselves with one strong case. Mr. St. George Tucker, a Director of the East India Company, formerly a Commissioner of Land Revenue in Bengal, and principal Secretary in the same department, tells us, in nearly as many words, when describing the necessary inequality of assessment to the land-tax, that in a particular estate the introduction of the cultivation of indigo alone will be sufficient "to double the value of the produce." A country, of which the produce of the soil is doubled by the introduction of a single article of cultivation and manufacture, cannot, it ought rationally to be supposed, be much injured in any other way by those who confer such a boon upon it.

In whatever part of India Europeans have resided longest, and in greatest numbers, there we are sure to find the best understanding subsisting between them and the Indians, and surely this is what common sense would teach us to expect. There is one remarkable example of this, exclusive of that of the great commercial towns, which may be worth quoting. The cultivation of indigo has been longest, most extensively and most successfully conducted in the district of Tirhoot, a portion of the province of Bahar. Here are to be found the most numerous and wealthy English planters, and the cordiality which subsists between them and the Indians is so remarkable as to be held up as a model, even by the servants of the East India Company themselves, though incapable of assigning the true cause for it.

The British settlers in the provinces, notwithstanding the unquestionable and substantial benefits which they have conferred upon the country, became during the parliamentary investigation, in 1813, the subject of indiscriminate invective on the part of the East India Company and its advocates. The "civil wars of the indigo planters," as they were called, were spoken of as things calculated to subvert an empire! It is remarkable that the whole of the disputes in question,—disputes enormously exaggerated, have all had their origin in the restrictions imposed by the East India Company itself, or in laws which they are incapable of executing. As we have already said, a British settler can neither buy land nor take

a mortgage upon it. As to the state of law and police, beyond the limited jurisdictions of the King's Courts, the following is no exaggerated picture of it. Justice is there administered by one hundred and fifty unprofessional Europeans,—in this number being included judges as well as magistrates, assistants as well as chiefs, judges of appellate as well as of primary jurisdictions. Limiting the jurisdiction of these persons to 500,000 square miles, and to 75,000,000 inhabitants, it follows that each of the above unprofessional Europeans must administer justice and maintain police over an area of 3,266 square miles, and over half a million of people, ignorant of the locality of five square miles of the area in question, not acquainted with fifty persons out of the 500,000, and having at best, as the natural and inevitable consequence of their being strangers, but a sorry acquaintance with the language, manners, or usages of any one man amongst so vast a multitude. It is no wonder that a King's Chief Justice in Bengal, in writing to a Minister of state upon this subject, should exclaim, "You may rely on it, and I hope the truth may not be learned in a more unpleasant manner, that the present system cannot go on."\*

The principal quarrels which the indigo planters have had with the natives, (and they have had them just as often with each other,) are disputes respecting boundaries, the most frequent of all others in India, and which are, indeed, inseparable from such a state of the law as prevails in the British provinces. "The commitments for breaches of the peace," says the fifth report of the House of Commons, "arising from boundary disputes, and other contests concerning landed property, are ascribed to the great though unavoidable arrear of untried cases, standing in some of the courts; since, by necessarily protracting for years the decision of suits, it frequently drives the suitors to despair, and induces them to run the risk of taking justice into their own hands, by seizing the object in dispute, rather than to await the tardy issue of a process which threatened to exceed the probable duration of their own lives." Matters have by no means improved since this passage was written. In 1815 it appears that the decision of a suit in the Supreme Court of Appeal required three years and three months; in the provincial courts of appeal, three years; and

\* Chief Justice East's Letter to the Earl of Liverpool.

in the provincial courts of first instance, seven and thirty months.\* Is it to be wondered at, that in a country where justice is nearly unattainable, the strong should be disposed to take advantage of the weak; or that when men are for the most part left to themselves, opposed to all the arts of craft and chicanery, they should occasionally commit acts of violence? There is no magic in the name of an indigo planter that he should be able to escape from the difficulties which the very state of the law itself imposes upon him. Reform, then, would be more becoming than invective in those who object to his conduct. Even the excellent and learned Bishop Heber, the author of the most interesting, popular, instructive, and, therefore, useful book ever written on India, joins in the unmeaning clamour raised by the friends of exclusion against the indigo planters; he states, in plain terms, that this enterprising class of English sojourners has done much towards disgusting the natives of India with the British character. This, to be sure, is but a casual expression in a private letter to a friend; and as no such opinion is contained in his journal, it is probable that it was not his deliberate conviction, formed on a more mature consideration of the subject. We have, in fact, carefully perused the journal and the letters, and cannot discover that the Bishop ever held any intercourse with an indigo planter, or with any native oppressed by an indigo planter. On the contrary, his Lordship almost invariably partook of the hospitality of, and received his information from, the high privileged servants of the East India Company, men opposed to the planters by habits, interests, and prejudices. His Lordship ought to have done, in this case, as he has done in almost every other, exercised his own better judgment, and not have given the sanction of his high authority to a calumny without a tittle of evidence. It is pleasing, indeed, to reflect that the Bishop has refuted himself in a passage in another letter, at least as authentic as the first, where he informs, as we have already stated, that the purchase of lands by the English, instead of being forbidden, ought to be encouraged, as the most probable means of improving the country, and attaching the peasantry to the Government.†

\* Judicial Selections, vol iv. p. 20.

† The following is the Bishop's own account of the state of law, and of the manners and character of those to whom the planter is exposed

Except when the laws are bad, or badly administered, and a country consequently reduced to a state of anarchy, the strong cannot dispossess the weak. If the laws be tolerably administered in India, Englishmen cannot possess themselves of the lands of the Hindoos, except by giving a valuable consideration for them. Unquestionably the Hindoos will not part with them, except for such consideration, for they are a parsimonious people, and in all affairs of property a careful and acute people. If an Englishman give a just equivalent for the real property of a Hindoo, it is not necessary to say that this is an accommodation and an advantage to the Hindoo, and not a matter of injustice or of oppression. The Hindoo proprietor may have more land than capital; he may be involved in pecuniary difficulty like the proprietors of other countries. By selling a portion of his estate, he may not only improve the remainder, but relieve himself from his difficulties. To deny him access, therefore, to the best market for his land, is not only no protection, but a positive injury, as well to himself as to the whole society to which he belongs.

What would the landed gentlemen of England say of a law which prohibited the wealthy capitalists of London, of Liverpool, of Glasgow, and of Bristol from becoming purchasers of the estates, which they were anxious to dispose of? Would they deem such a law a protection to their property; or rather would they not reprobate it in an act of deliberate spoliation? What would be thought of a law, made for the protection of the Irish, which prohibited English capital from being invested in the soil of Ireland, and made it a misdemeanour for an Englishman to be found in that country without a license from

without laws:—"The greatest evil of the land here, as elsewhere in India, is the system of the Adowlut Courts,—their elaborate and intricate machinery,—their intolerant and expensive delays, and the severity of their debtor and creditor laws." Vol. 2, page 145.—"They are decidedly, by nature, a mild, pleasing, and intelligent race; sober, parsimonious, and, where an object is held out to them, most industrious and persevering. But the magistrates and lawyers all agree, that in no country are lying and perjury so common, and so little regarded. Notwithstanding the apparent mildness of their manners, the criminal calendar is generally as full as in Ireland, with gang-robberies, setting fire to buildings, stacks, &c. &c.; and the number of children who are decoyed aside, and murdered for the sake of their ornaments, Lord Amherst assures me is dreadful."—*Ibid*, page 306.

a Secretary of State? The same general principles which are applicable to Ireland, are equally applicable to India. There may be trifling differences in the modes of their application, but these will be found trivial and unimportant. Human nature is pretty much the same in all ages and climates. What is fundamentally true of it under a fair complexion, is equally so under a brown or a black one. It cannot be transmuted to serve the interested purposes of patronage or party. When we legislate for the Hindoos, in short, we legislate for men, and not for creatures of a clouded and egoistical imagination.

It would be in vain to attempt to trace all the evil consequences which arise out of this prohibition of Englishmen, to invest their property in the soil; but there is one of a very striking and comprehensive character to which we shall allude. The interest of money in the commercial towns, where English law exists, is, certainly in no case, above one half of what it is in the provinces, where the enactment and execution of the law is left to the East India Company. This, however, is not all; British subjects, beyond the limits of the towns in question, being prohibited from investing their capital in the soil, can receive no security upon lands, or tenements, and the lands and tenements of the protected towns are far too small in value to afford security for any considerable portion of the available capital of India. The effects of this are striking and monstrous. There is no lending of money on the security of real property, and the public funds necessarily become the only certain investment. While the profits of stock are much larger in India than in England, the local government in India is, notwithstanding, always enabled to raise money at an interest very little higher than the Government of the Crown in England, at a moment that private merchants, even of the highest credit, will have to pay half as much more, and often double as much. During the Burmese war the East India Company borrowed money at five per cent., while the most respectable merchants and agents of Calcutta were paying ten. The East India Company, in short, as here exhibited, has taken advantage of its own wrong. It commands the money market by a law of its own enacting, an obvious encouragement to wasteful and profligate expenditure. The capital, which would naturally go to improve the agriculture and commerce of the country, is thus unjustifiably drawn off to the public treasury.

The second allegation of the East India Company is, that if Englishmen were permitted to mix indiscriminately with the Indians, their offences against native usages would produce dangerous insurrections and rebellions, which would place our very dominion in jeopardy. This proposition, it should be recollected, is at direct variance with the last, and, therefore, if true, would prove too much. In the first case, the Hindoos are represented as so timid and obsequious, that they will submit to be turned out of their possessions without resistance; in the last, they are imagined to be so sensitive, so irascible, so pugnacious, so formidable, that they will brook no insult; they will rise in rebellion if the first settlers do not understand their languages and peculiar usages,—kick us, as it were, out of Hindostan for sheer ignorance. Both assertions imply a flagrant misunderstanding of the character of the Hindoos,—of their well known history for many centuries. The Hindoos are a prudent, a discreet, a money-making race;\* they will endure a great deal for money's sake; they will oppose violence by an appeal to law, if they have laws to appeal to; and if they have not, no European will be a match for them, with those weapons of fraud and chicanery, which the necessity and practice of ages have taught them to wield most dexterously. There will, in short, be more need to protect Europeans against them, than them against Europeans. This has, in fact, been found to be more or less the case, wherever the two races have come into collision or competition, without adequate laws for the protection of person and property, an occurrence but too frequent.

The danger to the stability of our empire from the indiscriminate resort of Europeans was one of the points most per-

\* The parsimonious character of the Hindoos, and the facility, notwithstanding the pretended allegations of the East India Company to the contrary, with which they accommodate themselves to the manners of strangers, are strongly exemplified in the little colonies which they have established in Ava, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, Java, and other islands of the Eastern Archipelago, but still more strikingly in those which they have formed in Asiatic Russia. Malte-brun, on the authority of a German traveller, gives the following account of the manners of the Hindoos at Astrachan: "Leur principal metier est l'usure. Les Tartares, livrés au petit commerce, sont toujours debiteurs des Indiens, au point de leur remettre en gage et en usufruit leurs propres femmes; de ce commerce descendent les Tartares Achrichanski."—*Precis de la Géographie Universelle*.—T. vi.

severingly laboured by the East India Company in the discussions which led to the renewal of their last Charter. Leading questions to this effect were constantly put to the cloud of witnesses which they brought to the bar of the House of Commons,—to the same witnesses who confidently predicted the total impossibility of extending free trade, and who insisted that the Indians could consume nothing which we produced, and produce little which we required. The answers were always prompt, and the assertion broad and unqualified, that there was the utmost danger to be apprehended from the resort of Englishmen. The kind of offences against native usages, which, it was alleged by the Company and its friends, might tend to endanger our Indian empire, it is not very easy to render a distinct account of, because the charges in their very nature were as vague as they were silly and unfounded. The following is hardly a parody:—Englishmen might perhaps shoot peacocks; they might not step aside to save the life of a pismire; they might plague monkeys, or treat cows with less reverence than horses; peradventure they might even slay kine to indulge a national propensity! When challenged to adduce examples of violations of native usages, such as could lead any rational being to imagine might be productive of insurrection or rebellion, of course not one case capable of bearing the slightest examination could be brought forward. One of the most intelligent witnesses adduced the case of an European sutler as one very much in point. He, the witness, had, in the exercise of his public duty, given the said sutler permission to live in the unoccupied house of an absent native: the native returned, and the sutler refused to quit the house at his requisition, and without the specific authority of the person from whom he derived his permission, which appeared reasonable enough on the part of the sutler. It turned out that the sutler in question, however heinous his offence, was not a British-born subject, but a Dane; one, in short, of the most orderly creatures of the European race! “Had he been an Englishman,” continued the witness in his evidence, “he would most probably have kicked out the owner for presuming to molest an Englishman in his castle, and it would have required a suit at law to eject him!” Here was evidence on which to legislate for an empire!

Another witness, an officer of high rank, and of some forty



years' experience, having been challenged to produce an example of the evil consequences of the settlement of Europeans in India, upon which he had expatiated in general terms, adduced the case of two Europeans who lost their lives for having offended the prejudices of certain Brahmins by shooting a monkey. The Brahmins pelted them with stones. To effect their escape, they made an attempt to swim the river Jumna on horseback, and in that attempt were drowned. Here it turned out that the offenders were not merchants or agriculturalists, but servants of the East India Company, a couple of cornets of dragoons. The reader may imagine, that a people who take violent umbrage at so venial a peccadillo as the shooting of a monkey, must be rather hard to deal with. The case, therefore, deserves this short explanation: the martyred monkey in question was not a wild monkey, as his untravellerd fancy might suppose, but a pet monkey,—one of a herd of pet monkeys belonging to certain learned Brahmins at the celebrated seminary of Mattura, and daily fed from the hands of these clerical worthies. There is not an admirer of pet monkeys in England, lay or clerical, who would not have been equally indignant upon a like occasion.

The prejudices of the Hindoos, on the point just alluded to, have been mightily exaggerated. It is true they believe that the soul of a drunken grandsire may be embodied in a hog; of a wise one in that of an elephant; or of a pious one in that of a bull. They do give credence to such fooleries, and to various others; and they have, consequently, a kind of disinclination, but not a very violent repugnance, to be accessory to the death of such possible progenitors; but this is all, and they certainly do not, as some have supposed, actually worship any description of animals. It is notorious, that cattle and all other animals are slaughtered in thousands, in all the principal towns, long resorted to by strangers; the Hindoos not only not taking offence, but often, as owners of markets, as merchants, and as shopkeepers, deriving emolument from such proceeding.\*

\* "I had always heard, and fully believed till I came to India, that it was a grievous crime, in the opinion of the Brahmins, to eat the flesh, or shed the blood of any living creature whatever. I have now, myself, seen Brahmins, of the highest caste, cut off the heads of goats as a sa-

The belief of animal worship, on the part of the Hindoos, however, was, at one time at least, pretty current among Europeans. We remember hearing rather a curious example of this, in as far as regarded an alleged worship of peacocks. A British officer, at the head of a detachment, entered the Mahratta frontier, and, laudably resolving to respect the prejudices of the natives on this head, gave the following sample of his acquaintance with Hindoo mythology, in an order of the day:—"Peacocks being the gods of this country, no one to presume to shoot them on any account whatsoever." Now, the real history of this supposed peacock-worship was as follows:—There are few or no wild peacocks in the northern parts of India, but a great many domestic ones, the common property of the villages, roosting on the tops of the houses, nesting in the neighbouring groves, and feeding in the corn-fields belonging to the peasantry. In short, they are pretty much in the same state, but a good deal tamer, than the pheasants of a preserve in this country. The above good-natured officer was right in his conduct, but wrong in the motive. A French general, invading this country, and desirous of conciliating a very influential and respectable class of the inhabitants, might just as reasonably have issued such an order as this to his army:—"Pheasants and partridges being the gods of the country gentlemen of England, no one to shoot them on any pretence whatsoever."

The two cases above alluded to were the only examples of the evil consequences of settlement and colonization brought forward by the East India Company during a discussion of three years' continuance. In reference to them, Mr. Courtenay, then Secretary to the Board of Control, stated, in his place in Parliament, that the examples adduced amounted to such twaddle as could not be listened to with common patience. Even the late Lord Londonderry acknowledged that the idea

critice to Doorga; and I know, from the testimony of Brahmins, as well as from other sources, that not only hecatombs of animals are often offered in this manner as a most meritorious act, (a Raja, about twenty five years back, offered sixty thousand in one fortnight,) but that any person, Brahmins not excepted, eats readily of the flesh of whatever has been offered up to one of their divinities, while among almost all the other castes, mutton, pork, venison, fish, (any thing but beef and fowls,) are consumed as readily as in Europe."—*Heber's Journal* vol. ii. p. 379

of colonization in India, with all its attendant dangers, were a pure chimera.\*

Who, it may be asked, are most likely to offend the prejudices of the natives of India?—the flights of raw aspirants for place and power poured annually by the East India Company into India,—persons vested with the name or authority of Government; or merchants and traders, who have no connexion whatever with it, who are even publicly denounced by it as intruders, and whose success, safety, and comfort, must therefore depend upon prudence, forbearance, and conciliation? We pronounce, from long experience, that for one trader who violates the prejudices or usages of the natives, there will be found twenty civil and military *employés* who will do so; but by whatever party such offences are given, they are but trivial, and of very little moment. As the settlers and colonists increase, the number of such offences must diminish, because information on both sides will have improved. After the first few months—even in the most desperate cases, after the first few years—no European offends native prejudices, nor do the natives offend his: a very limited period, indeed, is sufficient to reconcile them to each other. If this be the case with the original settlers, where is to be the danger from their posterity, born and bred in the country?

It is beyond all doubt, that the present system of ruling India is distinctly chargeable with all the vices and inconveniences which are so liberally ascribed to settlement or colonization. The very essence of that system is to bring into perpetual collision with the Indians a perennial stream of youthful strangers at the most indiscreet and imprudent age,—these strangers, too, tax-gatherers or task-masters. Surely human ingenuity could not have devised a more effectual method of keeping a people governing and a people governed in a condition of more real alienation and estrangement from each other than this contrivance,—a contrivance which, although the creature of accident, and the offspring of the false and foolish theory of an ignorant age, is declared by its friends to be the very perfection of human wisdom; a plan, in short, devised, as if it were by nature herself, for rendering one hundred millions of the human race mutually useful to each other.

and happy and contented in all their relations. Under this lauded system the governed rarely see the governing party before the age of 16 or 18. If the governing party be good for any thing, they seldom see them beyond five and forty. By the rigid principles of this anti-social system the conquerors and the conquered ought not to see each other's infancy or childhood, or early youth, or old age, or even the whole maturity of each other's manhood. Englishmen, by this system, are never to be naturalized in India. They are never to appear to the Hindoos in the relation of fellow-countrymen. The parties, in short, are to have no mutual interests, no mutual sympathies, no opportunity of knowing or being known to each other.

Those portions of our dominions in India in which the greatest number of European settlers exist, are invariably found to be the most orderly, tranquil, wealthy, and prosperous. Those in which they are carefully excluded are not only the poorest, but the most subject to insurrection. The acts of the Government and of its servants have occasioned a good many tumults, a good many insurrections, and a good many military mutinies, but the advocates of restriction have never ventured to assert that a private merchant, or a private trader, has been implicated in any act of public disorder. The mutiny and massacre at Vellore were produced by the impertinent and ill-judged interference of the public officers of Government with the dress and pay of the troops. The tumult at Benares was produced by an attempt to impose an unpopular tax. The more serious insurrection in Rohilcund was produced by the same cause. The mutiny of the native troops at Barrackpore, and the massacre which followed it, were notoriously occasioned by the Government or its officers refusing to listen to some palpable, and afterwards acknowledged and redressed, grievances. No private individual, black or white, had any share in the transaction. The general rising of the province of Cuttack, which took the Calcutta authorities by surprise, was produced by the misconduct of a public officer. There was not a merchant or trader in this extensive but poor province at whose door the blame might be laid. But these are light and modern instances. The further we go back in the history of our connexion with India, the more flagrant are the examples which will occur to us. In proportion as we find the charac-

ter of merchant and sovereign united in the Indian government, —in proportion as the private adventurers are few in number, and as trade and government are, exclusively, or almost exclusively, in the hands of the Company, examples of oppression and rebellion become more numerous and more notorious. We shall quote one or two strong and incontestible cases. In the year 1781, the rash, arbitrary, and unjustifiable conduct of Warren Hastings, in offering an unprovoked insult to native prejudices and native feelings, threw the great and populous province of Benares into a state of general insurrection, which nothing could quell but a large army. This was the much-admired Governor of the East India Company, a man of undoubted talent, versed in the languages, manners, and institutions of the natives of India, and who was brought up in 1813, before the House of Commons, to give evidence, touching the impossibility of extending the commercial intercourse of Great Britain with India, the danger of violating native usages, the excellence of the existing order of things, and other matters equally true and edifying. Now, had the said Warren Hastings been a merchant, or an indigo planter, in all human probability he would not have touched a hair of the Rajah Cheit Singh's head; certainly he would not have wantonly arrested his person, and, by this flagrant insult to the prejudices of his subjects, brought on a formidable insurrection. To be guilty of such indiscretion, it was necessary to be duly clothed with authority!

The most noted examples, however, of the misconduct of the Company's servants, and of the evils arising out of the union of trade and power, are those which took place immediately after the victories which led to our eventual sovereignty in India. In Bengal, not only the Company, but the Company's servants, claimed an exemption of duties on trade for themselves, but insisted upon an infliction of duties upon all others.\* This necessarily threw a complete monopoly of the whole trade

\* His patience (the Nabob's) was nearly exhausted; he now, therefore, executed his resolution of abandoning all duties on the transit of goods, and laid the interior trade of his country perfectly open. The conduct of the Company's servants, upon this occasion, furnishes one of the most remarkable instances upon record of the power of interest to extinguish all sense of justice, and even of shame. They had hitherto insisted, contrary to all right and all precedent, that the government of

of the country into their hands; the native inhabitants were deprived of their commerce, and the prince of his revenues. Anarchy, wars, and revolutions of nine years' continuance, were the consequence. The Court of Directors, it is true, acknowledged that the disorders in question were produced by the misconduct of their servants: they disapproved of that conduct, and forbade the private trade; but they had no sooner possessed themselves of the sovereignty of the country, than they seized upon salt, the principal branch of it, as an article of monopoly for their own benefit, and salt is at the present moment vendcd to the Indian consumer at about four times the price which it cost in the period of anarchy just alluded to!

In the discussions of 1813, the East India Company was not satisfied with a mere denunciation of the general principle of the free settlement of Englishmen in India; they declared that the bare circumstance of a partial opening of the trade must produce such an inundation of true-born Englishmen as would sap the foundation, and finally overthrow the whole fabric of our Indian empire. The experience of the last fourteen years has not verified this ominous prognostication. The whole number of European settlers in Bengal, unconnected with the public service, is about two thousand seven hundred, and this, let it be observed, includes foreigners as well as British-born subjects; in 1813 it was one thousand six hundred. At the other presidencies, the whole accession, certainly, has not amounted to two hundred persons. The inundation, therefore, which was immediately to sap the foundations, and finally to overthrow the vast fabric of our empire, has amounted, in fourteen years, only to about one thousand three hundred persons, all employed in the peaceful pursuits of industry, without an hour's leisure for politics or squabbling!

The advocates of restriction have, further urged that free settlement would especially give rise to a dangerous influx of needy and profligate adventurers. How are needy and profligate adventurers to pay for a passage across half the globe? Do needy and profligate adventurers undertake a voyage of

the country should exempt their goods from duty. They now insisted that it should impose duties upon the goods of all other traders; and accused it as guilty of a breach of peace toward the English nation because it proposed to remit them."—*Mill's History of British India*, vol. ii.

similar expense to New South Wales, where room and climate are more suitable, and the distance not much greater." Needy and profligate adventurers go to the latter country with the assistance of the State; they could only find their way to India with similar assistance, which it is to be hoped the State will never grant. In fact, the existing restrictions are answerable for any disproportion of exceptionable persons which may now exist in the European population of India; and, after all, the number is very trifling.\* Men of character in general are unwilling to infringe the existing laws, bad as they are; men of indifferent character infringe them without scruple; and the worst class of Europeans in India are, in fact, runaways from the East India Company's own ships, notorious among British shipping for the badness of their crews,—men who, but for this channel, could never find their way to India at all, or who, if they did, would, in a free intercourse, constitute but a trifling fraction of the whole. In reality, from the very nature of things, the free adventurers to India would of necessity be composed of the most respectable emigrants that ever quitted one shore for another. The length of the voyage—the state of society in India—the character of the climate, would inevitably preclude the resort of such emigrants as were not possessed of what India stands so egregiously in need of—capital—talent—acquirement—integrity, and enterprise. For vice and profligacy the Indians have no demand; the market is already stocked!

The account now given is amply corroborated by an official statement made in the House of Commons during the last Session of Parliament, on the presentation of certain petitions from the inhabitants of Calcutta.† It appeared from this, that in a period of eleven years, or from the opening of the trade in 1814, down to 1825, the total number of persons, in-

\* "The English part of the population (of all India) is perhaps as respectable a community as any in the universe."—*Sir J. Malcolm*. The worthy author, after this compliment to his countrymen in India, having another purpose to serve, which it is not our present object to touch upon, proceeds to draw a subtle, but truly incomprehensible distinction between "a public" and "a community."

† Speech of the Right Hon. Chas. W. Wynn in his place in Parliament, June 1828

cluding men, women, and children, who had applied for leave to proceed to India, amounted only to 943, and that of these 159 were refused permission. If the whole applications, then, had been complied with, the overthrowers of our Indian empire—the invaders who were to subvert the dominion of the successors of the Mogul, with their standing army of 300,000 men,—would have amounted to about 85 per annum, (mischievous women and children included !). But as the wisdom and prudence of the Directors of the East India Company averted a portion of the danger, the invaders in question amounted only to 71 and a fraction. The Directors, it seems, had refused permission to two hundred persons, but, in forty-one cases, their judgment, in this important matter, was overruled by the Board of Control. Of the one hundred and fifty-nine persons who received no satisfaction, some were refused because they were servants, and might interfere with half-castes; some because they were intended as clerks to mercantile houses, and might displace the same half-castes; and some because they could not satisfy an East India Director, that they could live in India without his assistance. With respect to the first class of persons, it is enough to say, that half-castes are never employed as servants in India, and therefore the ground of objection is invalid. With respect to the second class, the meaning of the objection can only be this, that the East India Company's regulations having, contrary to all justice, incapacitated the children of Europeans, born of native mothers, from all elevated and honourable office, the Company coolly turns round upon its commercial rival, fixes a minimum for their wages as clerks, and saddles the free trader with the whole charge of maintaining them. With regard to the third class of persons objected to, one would suppose that a man who can afford to take the trouble of dancing attendance at the East India House for a license, for a month or two; who must canvass for sufficient interest to obtain it; who can give security to the Company to the extent of five hundred pounds; (for this is always taken,) who can afford to pay £30 sterling in fees and stamps for his license; and who can further afford to pay for a four or five months' passage to India,—may safely be left to his own exertions and his own resources, and is not likely to become a burthen to the East India Company or any one else. The truth is, that the love of a little pa-



tronage, and no apprehension either of settlement or colonization, was at the bottom of the refusals. For the first few years after the opening of the free trade, the number of licenses, in despite of the spirit and letter of the act of Parliament, was limited to a very few, in order to create or maintain that patronage, and it is only very lately, and chiefly since the parliamentary investigation in 1820, that they have been granted with comparatively less difficulty. This country is overflowing with capital, and, above all, with an unemployed population, and the Government of the country acknowledges the fact, legislates for it, and even advances large sums of money to encourage emigration. The East India Company is actuated by different motives, and steps forward to counteract the provisions of the Legislature, by exacting fines and illegal indentures from the emigrant to aggravate the natural difficulties and expenses of a passage over half the globe!

The next objection to the settlement of Englishmen in India is, that if this were to take place, the native inhabitants would be exterminated, and the colonists, in due course, declare their independence of the mother country, after the example of America. This most chimerical and absurd position hardly deserves an inquiry, or a serious answer; but in case there should be any one, unknown to us, silly enough to give it credence, we shall condescend to the trouble of refuting it. The first thing which must occur to every rational being is, that there is not one point of similitude in the pretended parallel between India and America. Colonization in India, in the strict meaning of the term, is impossible, without the extermination, or the very next thing to it, of above one hundred millions of human beings: we might as reasonably talk of colonizing Ireland, and exterminating the Irish!

Now, with respect to the extermination of the Indians, a very few words will suffice. No agricultural people have ever been exterminated, even by the most barbarous conquerors. Notwithstanding the badness of the Spanish Government of America, and the cruelties first inflicted upon the American Indians, modern inquirers are distinctly of opinion that the Peruvians and Mexicans are, at the present day, more numerous than they were under Atahualpa and Montezuma. Savages have been exterminated in a few cases through their own vices, —through the use of ardent spirits, idleness and its concomi-

tants, poverty and starvation. But the Hindoos are no savages; they are far more civilized than the Mexicans and Peruvians ever were; and as Englishmen of the nineteenth century, it is hoped, are not inferior to the Spaniards of the sixteenth in humanity, there is surely as little ground to expect their extermination.

Anglo-America and India stand as it were in complete contrast and opposition to each other in reference to the question of colonization. America, when colonized, was destitute of inhabitants, or very nearly so, and at the moment of emancipation the wages of day labour were perhaps not less than £70 a year. The British territories in India are peopled throughout to the extent of one hundred and twelve inhabitants to a square mile, and the wages of common labour are not above £3 per annum. America, when ripe for independence, was peopled by one race of free men, having the same institutions, manners, religion, language, and interests: in India there are at least thirty tribes or nations, speaking as many distinct languages. There are several forms of religion, and these again are broken down into sects and castes, the followers of which are full of antipathies towards each other. The Indian nations, in short, unknown to each other, destitute even of a common medium of communication, have no common interests, and, therefore, no common feeling of national independence.\* The notion of their conspiring or combining to rid themselves of the dominion of strangers is purely chimerical. Who, in fact, in this vast heterogeneous mass, are to be deemed the strangers? The Mahrattas are as much strangers to the people of Bengal, or to those of the Carnatic,

\* "This part of their character, but in a ruder and wilder form, and debased by much alloy of treachery and violence, is conspicuous in the smaller and less good looking inhabitants of Rajpootana and Malwa; while the mountains and woods, wherever they occur, show specimens of a race entirely different from all these, and in a state of society scarcely elevated above the savages of New Holland or New Zealand, and the inhabitants, I am assured, of the Deccan, and of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, are as different from those which I have seen, and from each other, as the French and Portuguese from the Greeks, German, or Poles; so idle is it to ascribe uniformity of character to the inhabitants of a country so extensive, and subdivided by so many almost impassable mountains and jungles."—*Hobbs's Journal*, vol. II. p. 380

as we are, and, without doubt, would be much more unwelcome ones. The Sikhs are strangers, to the Mahrattas, and either would submit to the other's barbarous rule far more unwillingly than to ours. Some fifteen millions of Mahomedans, differing from each other in nation, in sect, and often in language, are opposed to a Hindoo population of some eighty-five millions—nay, opposed among themselves to each other. Where are the materials for unanimity of purpose, for conspiracy, or for combination, in this most discordant mass of human beings?

The Americans, when ripe for independence, were a free, bold, manly, energetic, and highly-civilized people. The Indians know not what freedom is: they are, for the most part, a timid, often an effeminate, and, as a nation, a feeble race of semi-barbarians. In every circumstance, in short, in which it can be possible to institute a comparison, the Indians and Anglo-Americans are the very antipodes of each other. The states of society in the two countries are, without exaggeration, more dissimilar than in China and Lapland. We and others conquered the Hindoos, because they were feeble and disunited. They are now, and they always have been, readily retained in subjection, for the same reason that they were easily conquered.

The colonization of India, as may be seen from this statement, is impracticable; but, although there may be no room for colonization, there is ample room for settlement, in a country of fertile soil, far more thinly peopled, after all, than any part of Europe, and a country, too, without capital, knowledge, morals, or enterprise. Mere day-labourers, of course, there is, generally speaking, no room for; but there is ample room for skilful mechanics, for agricultural, for commercial, and even for manufacturing capitalists. The free settlement of all these classes, under equal and suitable laws, will prove the only means of civilizing and humanizing the inhabitants of India. Our countrymen, living amongst them, will instruct them in arts, in science, and in morals; the wealth and resources of the country will be improved; the Hindoos will rise in the scale of civilization, for they have sufficiently evinced that they possess both the capacity and inclination to do so. We leave it to the abettors of restriction to point out what evils are likely to spring from such changes!

We have said that there is no room for colonization in India,

at least for European colonization. There are some exceptions to this rule: India, taking it as a whole, is not a densely, but a thinly peopled country; one hundred and twelve inhabitants to the square mile, is not such a population as a territory of such general fertility and extent ought and might maintain. The fact is, that many parts of India are over-peopled, others very thinly peopled, and some, indeed, almost destitute of inhabitants. Some fertile tracts in the alluvial plain of the Ganges contain four hundred, five hundred, and even six hundred inhabitants to the square mile, while the table lands are thinly peopled, and the mountains often destitute of inhabitants altogether. Many of the rich valleys of the great snowy range, for example, would, for room, temperature, and salubrity, admit of the settlement of European colonies. As the climate is remarkable for its salubrity, European colonization is here gradually admissible; we say gradually, because from distance and expense, there is, obviously, no other means of introducing it. Even in some of the warmer parts of India, colonization is not impracticable. The first settlers, in such situations, would naturally consist of capitalists, and the better order of mechanics, who, from their habits, would suffer little inconvenience from the climate. Their posterity, even if they descended to the rank of day labourers, would be acclimated, and, like the Spaniards of the pure blood, in the torrid plains of America, suffer no inconvenience from heat, but in this respect be on a perfect equality with the aboriginal inhabitants. Our own West India Islands, notwithstanding their heat, the general insalubrity of their climate, and the discouragement to colonization offered by slave labour, contain between sixty and seventy thousand colonists of the European race, the greater number of whom are genuine Creoles. In Barbadoes alone, according to Edwards, there were forty years ago above 16,000 whites. But even in India, notwithstanding the care taken to prevent it, we find among the lower orders of Europeans, a good many cases of genuine Creoles. These may be seen serving in the army, side by side, with their European comrades, and not distinguishable from them by any difference in strength, complexion, or courage. In fact, the races of men, like the species of many animals, are easily acclimated in regions in which they were not born to dwell, and by necessary change in habits and manners, are readily accommodated to

their new situations. The colonial history of every European nation, in fact, teaches us that the physical frame of the European race affords no obstacle to its permanent location in tropical countries.\*

The only thing like colonization which we see passing before our eyes in the East, is that of the Chinese, in the thinly peopled countries in the neighbourhood of their own. There are about one hundred thousand of them in the Dutch, Spanish, and British possessions; and, perhaps, little fewer than a million in Siam, and other adjacent countries. This, however, is a very unfavourable experiment; for, by the laws of China, the men cannot be accompanied by their families. Had not the emigration of women been forbidden by the laws of China, we should, by this time, probably, have seen the half-desert countries in question peopled from the swarming inhabitants of that empire. Unfavourable as are the circumstances under which this Chinese emigration takes place, it is instructive to remark, that to it we owe more than half the prosperity of all the countries in which it has occurred; such is the efficacy of a little infusion of civilization into semi-barbarous communities. In the countries in question, the Chinese colonists generally carry on their whole foreign trade. They mine and smelt their metals, and they manufacture their whole sugar. In short, the most prominent branches of their industry would have no existence but for these useful auxiliaries.

With the fullest and freest liberty to settle, the European colonists in India will still constitute a prodigious minority. To imagine their revolt, therefore, is nothing less than ridiculous. Their security for centuries—as long as they continue a distinct race—as long as their faces remain white, and they speak the English language—must depend upon the mother country. Instead of endangering our dominion, therefore,

\* “The emigration from the mother country to this island (Barbadoes) was indeed so great during the commotions in England, that in 1650 it was computed there were 20,000 white men in Barbadoes, half of them able to bear arms, and furnishing even a regiment of horse to the number of 1000. The case seems to have been, that the Governor granted lands to all who applied, on receiving a gratuity for himself; and the claim of the proprietor, whether disputed in the Island, or disregarded amidst the confusions at home, was at length tacitly relinquished. \* \* The colony, left to its own efforts, and enjoying an unlimited freedom of trade, flourished beyond example.”—*Edwards's History of the West Indies.*

they will become its natural, and, through their knowledge and influence, its best, its cheapest, and its firmest supports. The very charge of danger alleged against their free settlement may, with infinite truth and justice, be urged against the system of restricting it. The Hindoos, instead of being a people difficult of management, are, in reality, of all the conquered people that ever existed, the most easy. Had they been otherwise, the barbarians of Persia and Tartary could not have held them in easy subjection for seven centuries; nor could the commercial and exclusive government of the East India Company have lasted for a single day. The administration of the East India Company is, in itself, a proof with how little government—with how imperfect a government, the Hindoos may be kept in subjection. The administration of India, as it is now constituted, disclaims all support derived from the influence or public opinion of Englishmen. It creates in its own hands enormous and pernicious monopolies; it refuses to grant, or is incapable of bestowing, an adequate administration of justice; it denies to the people all share in their own government; it places all power in the hands of a small party, or faction, of its own countrymen; it rules the country by an army, chiefly levied from a disfranchised and insulted population; and, finally, the spirit and tendency of its constitution is, to leave to the precarious guardianship of about thirty thousand Europeans, the sovereignty or dominion over an empire of one hundred millions of people. This is a real trial of the docility of the Hindoos; such a trial of men's temper and forbearance as was never made before in any age or climate; a scheme, the object of which must appear, to any rational and impartial observer, as little better than an experiment to ascertain the extent of the danger and jeopardy to which a people, in the wantonness of selfishness and error, may hazard a vast and costly acquisition.

In the teeth of all history, and of all experience, the Hindoos, the most docile of mankind, and for a people so uncivilized, surprisingly addicted to commerce, have been represented by the advocates of restriction as a mass of inflammable materials, capable of being ignited by simple commercial contact with the most commercial nation in the universe. Metaphor has been resorted to to colour the alleged precariousness of our tenure of Indian dominion from such an intercourse.

Sometimes a sword is held dangling over our heads; sometimes we are sitting on a barrel of gunpowder, an English merchant the incendiary to light it. But of all others, the most favourite figure of speech upon such occasions consists in representing all Hindostan as suspended by a pack-thread, which "the touch of chance," or the indiscretion of a free trader, might break, sending our dominion, of course, at once to perdition. One strong and indisputable fact will settle this question at once in the mind of every man of sense. We hold our Indian empire by the power of the sword. Saving the honour, firmness, probity, and intelligence of the national character, our civil institutions are valueless, and our administration of justice avowedly imperfect and insufficient. They, in fact, afford very little support to the army. That army is the smallest in the world in proportion to the population of the country, and it is inconceivably small if we consider that it is not a national army, maintaining subordination to national laws, but that it is the instrument of maintaining authority over a vast and distant conquest. The whole Indian army, regulars and militia, does not, in round numbers, exceed 300,000 men, and this, let it be recollected, is a perpetual war establishment. It is sufficient to maintain internal tranquillity; it is sufficient to protect us from foreign invasion; nay, it is sufficient to enable us to commit aggressions upon our neighbours, and to make external conquests.\* Including the native states, which receive subsidiary forces from us, this army of 300,000 men holds in subjection 115,000,000 of people. Its proportion to the population, then, is as one to about 383; but then again, above ninety parts in a hundred of this force is drawn from the conquered inhabitants. The portion of the Indian army, in short, composed of the conquerors, that is to say, the essential and effective power which maintains our Indian dominion, stands to the conquered population only in the proportion of one to 4,600. Let us compare the condition of India in this respect with that of other countries. The military force of Russia bears the largest proportion to her population of any nation

\* While we had an army exceeding 30,000 men before the fortress of Bhurtpoor, we had another at the distance of between two and three thousand miles from it, within two or three forced marches of the Burman capital. In a contest of two years' continuance, the army was not augmented by a single battalion.

which is known to us; that force on its peace establishment amounts to 800,000 men, and the population is largely estimated at 60,000,000. The army to the people, then, is as *one* is to 75. The army of France, on its peace establishment, including colonies, is in the proportion of *one* to 140 of the population. The British army, excluding *that portion of it* serving in India, is in proportion to the population of the United Kingdom, African and American colonies included, as *one* is to 274. The population of India, then, instead of being difficult, is more easy to retain in subjection than that of any other country existing, and, probably, than any country that has ever existed in the records of history.

The facility of maintaining our dominion over India, in truth, is a thing unquestionable. The docility of the great body of the people, arising out of their singular institutions, and the disunion, incoherence, and incongruity of the masses of which the conquered inhabitants are composed, are, no doubt, the chief causes of this facility; but there is also another, the great strength of our natural frontier. If we cast our eyes over that frontier, we shall find it, not only encompassed in every direction by the sea, or by mountains, forests, and rivers, but protected from foreign aggression by the still stronger barrier of universal weakness and barbarism on the part of our native neighbours,—a weakness and a barbarism, indeed, so great, that their excess alone, by tempting aggression on our side, becomes, in reality, our only source of danger.

As connected with this subject, we may mention, among the dangers conjured up to alarm us for the stability of our Indian dominion, the apprehended increase of the mixed race. A very few words will suffice for the refutation of this allegation. The greater number of the half-castes, or, as they have been recently called, Eurasians, are to be found in the Bengal provinces. Now, the number of grown males of this description here is just 215, and even among these there is included several of the most respectable of the class called Portuguese native Christians. The genuine half-castes throughout India, men, women, and children, we are convinced will be overrated at one thousand. This is the formidable body that is to wrest the dominion of a hundred millions of people from us!

So much for the genuine half-castes, or immediate descendants of an European parent with a native one. In



Calcutta, the whole descendants of Europeans of every nation, including those in the nearest, as well as in the remotest degrees, do not exceed five thousand persons. For all British India, they would certainly be overrated at three times this number. The natives converted to Christianity are numerous in the Southern parts of the peninsula, but are docile, even beyond the Hindoos themselves.

The restrictions of the East India Company have given rise, in a great measure, to the class of Eurasians. Among the British in India, there is a most extraordinary inequality among the sexes. The women are certainly not in the proportion of one to twenty of the opposite sex, and hence the men form connexions with the females of the country. Yet the number of the half-castes, small as it is, is either stationary or decreasing: the females generally intermarry with Europeans, and the offspring of this connexion is no longer reckoned in the class. The men, especially those of the lower orders, intermarry, or form connexion with native women, and the offspring is frequently lost in the native Christian population. The number of half-castes has also decreased of late years, owing to the more frequent resort of European females to India than heretofore. There is a natural repugnance in the races of different colours to intermix; or at least there is a decided repugnance on the fairer side. This is a principle, whatever may be the consequences, which, in all likelihood, must long preserve the different races inhabiting India in a great measure distinct. The prejudice of caste, with difference of language and lineage, will tend to a similar effect.

It is singular, indeed, to remark how completely such distinctions are kept up. The Persees, or worshippers of fire, fair and handsome amidst the squat and sooty population of Bombay and Surat, are as unmixed as on the day they came from Persia. The Afghan and Mogul Mahomedans are unmixed; the higher ranks of Hindoos (justly believed by antiquarians to be colonists also) are unmixed. The different nations of Hindoos never intermarry, and are perfectly distinct; it is only among the very lowest classes that there is much intermixture: all this, no doubt, throws a difficulty in the way of establishing a good administration;—it will prove a complete obstacle, for ages, to the establishment of any thing like a national government; but in proportion as it does

so, it is a security for the domination of the most intelligent, civilized, and, therefore, powerful class.

However little danger, present or future, we have to apprehend from the Eurasians, it is our duty to treat them with fairness and justice. At present they are rigidly excluded from all offices *of trust*, civil or military. From civil offices, indeed, their exclusion is complete, and their highest promotion in the military service is to the dignity of a sergeant or drum-major! Their exclusion from trust in the country of their birth, is unjust, ungenerous, and impolitic. They cannot, indeed, overthrow our dominion, however we may maltreat them, but the presence of a mass of discontented persons, as they must necessarily be, cannot but contribute, more or less, to its insecurity.

The disabilities under which the descendants of Europeans, by Indian mothers, labour, have all been created by the acts of the East India Company, within the last five and forty years, and have had their origin, like the restraints on British subjects in general, and the exclusion of the native inhabitants of India from places of honour or trust, in the principle of preserving the monopoly of patronage entire. They are, in fact, in the eye of the law, considered as natives, without enjoying all the privileges of natives. Everywhere beyond the limits of the principal towns, instead of being tried by British laws, they are tried by the Mahomedan, as modified by the Honourable Company. The liberal and enlightened conduct of His Majesty's Government, upon a recent occasion, is most strikingly, and favourably contrasted with the policy of the East India Company. By an Order in Council,\* the disabilities to which his Majesty's subjects, African, or of African descent, were liable, in the island of Trinidad, (a colony under the exclusive direction of the Crown,) are for ever repealed and annulled, and such persons are placed on a fair equality with their fellow-subjects. While the Crown thus performs an act of justice to the descendants of Spanish and African strangers, in a country of recent acquisition, the East India Company disfranchises the native inhabitants of India, and the immediate posterity of British subjects, in territories of which we have been more than twice as long in possession.

\* Order in Council March 18th, 1826.

The natives converted to Christianity are still more harshly treated than the immediate descendants of Europeans. Under a Christian Government, they are seldom or ever employed in a public capacity, in any part of India, and under the Madras Government, are expressly excluded "by law" from such humble employments as other natives are eligible to hold!

From the confidence with which the arguments against European settlement, as respects India, have been urged, one might be almost tempted to believe that all experience was on the side of the advocates of restriction; and that the East India Company was deterred, by some awful precedent, from following the example of other people. Colonization has, however, been pursued, even in India, not only with safety, but with advantage, and that an advantage, too, invariably proportioned to the extent to which it has been carried. The colonists, in such cases, have not only produced no danger to the mother country, but, in every emergency, proved its best support. The name of Portugal, from the feebleness of that power in Europe, would hardly have been known in India in the present day, had she not acted, from the very first, on the principle of colonization and settlement. The consequence of her having done so, however, is, that the Portuguese name and language, and even Portuguese influence, are at present more generally and widely diffused throughout the East, than those of any other European nation. The free settlement of Europeans has been acted upon in the Philippine Islands for about four centuries among a far less hospitable race than the Hindoos. It is not enough to say, in this case, that the practice has been safe only, the Spanish dominion could neither have been established nor maintained without it; the European settlers not only preserve the country from insurrection, but protect it from foreign aggression. It is their union and amalgamation with the natives of the country that has saved the dominion of the Philippines to Spain, even in her present state of colonial weakness.

In the larger portion of the great island of Java, European settlement has been tolerated for about two centuries, and Dutch colonists held great and extensive landed possessions. This is just the part of the island where there has never been any insurrection. On the other hand, insurrections and formidable rebellions have been frequent in those portions of

the country where European colonization has been forbidden by law : nay, more, it is matter of notoriety, that the arbitrary expulsion of European settlers, holding leases of land, from which the native proprietors were deriving signal advantage in that interdicted portion, was one great cause of the present ruinous war in the island.

The same principle has been acted on in Ceylon, with its Hindoo, its Mahomedan, and its Cingalese population. When we received over the government from the Dutch, eight out of the twelve members of the council of government were colonial landholders, men bred and born in the country. No sooner did the administration fall into the hands of the East India Company, than the danger of colonization was again conjured up, and the usual prohibition duly enacted. His Majesty's Government, in humble imitation, continued it for a short period, but, seemingly ashamed of such a piece of folly, took off this prohibition in 1810, and still more completely in 1812.\* Some years after this a formidable insurrection took place in the Candian provinces, where there were no European colonists; if there had, most probably there would have been no insurrection, or, at all events, that insurrection would not have come upon the Government as it did, surprised and unprepared.

The fourth assertion of the abettors of restriction is,—that if we civilize the Hindoos, they will become enlightened, expel us the country, and establish a native government. This apprehension is utterly Turkish, but offensive as it is to good taste and right feeling, we must reply to it. No doubt if the Hindoos are to be arrested in their progress towards civilization, and kept for ever in their present state of superstition, feebleness, and debasement, the existing form of government will answer the purpose well enough. But it is our duty to

\* Proclamations of his Majesty's Government of Ceylon, dated Dec. 4th, 1810, and July 21st, 1812. The liberal, safe, and manly policy which dictated the measure described in the text, originated with Sir Alexander Johnstone, at that time his Majesty's Chief Judge of Ceylon, and First Member of Council. The Governor, and other members of Council, concurred, and Sir A. Johnstone returned to England, with full powers from his colleagues, to recommend the measure to his Majesty's Ministers. Our readers will recollect, that it is to the same gentleman that India is indebted for the first introduction of jury trial, a measure which has been found at once popular and efficient in the Island of Ceylon.

improve them, let the consequences be what they may. We are of opinion that these consequences will be auspicious, and tend not only to increase the mass of human happiness, but to strengthen and confirm our own dominion. It never occurred to us to attempt the improvement of the Hindoos, until 1813, although we had exercised dominion over them for more than half a century. What we then did was but small, and it did not originate with the rulers of the country, but in the suggestions of private individuals. Out of a revenue of sixteen millions sterling, the East India Company set aside ten thousand pounds a year, as the statute, facetiously we suppose, expresses it,—“for the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences.”\* Our Indian subjects at the time were reckoned fifty millions in number. The sum allotted, then, by the bounty of the state, for the encouragement of literature, ancient and modern, the encouragement of men of learning, and the promotion of science, out of a revenue of sixteen millions, was at the moderate rate of the tithe of a farthing per head! An equal sum with that which is here dedicated to the arts and sciences, among 50,000,000 of people, at the time of the enactment, and now among some 90,000,000, is, in various cases, given to an agent of the salt or opium monopoly, without the least parade whatsoever,—without any special act of Parliament.

It was not until eight years thereafter, however, that a single step was taken to appropriate even this paltry sum to its destination. The local government appears to have been shamed into doing something about the year 1821, in consequence of the extraordinary progress made by the Christian missionaries, and other pious and benevolent individuals. A few years earlier, the Government, not only did not encourage useful education, but even made efforts to put it down. The Serampore missionaries, whose labours have been since acknowledged to have proved so useful and so safe, were obliged, in order to escape banishment, to fly for protection to a foreign settlement, where they still continue to flourish. The British Government even went the length of demanding the surrender

\* 53 Geo. III. cap. 155, § 43.

of their persons, but the foreign Governor had the sense, humanity, and firmness to decline compliance.

The Indian Government, while it seemed to have proscribed European education, had, from an early period, given a certain encouragement to Asiatic literature. There has, for example, been long a Mahomedan and a Hindoo college at Calcutta, in which the Arabic and Sanscrit languages are taught, together with what is most absurdly termed—philosophy. The laws of the Mahomedans, the most intolerant bigots of all Asia, are administered in our courts of justice. Persian, the language of the bigots in question, understood neither by the people nor by their rulers—equally foreign to both parties—is preferred to English, as the language of the courts of law, of the public accounts, and of diplomacy. The Mahomedans, like all other conquerors of ancient or modern times, imposed their own laws, and their own language on the conquered people. To establish our power, we pursue the very opposite course. One might almost suppose that the real intention of such patronage to dead or foreign barbarous dialects, to the exclusion of our own language, was to keep all parties, not only in utter ignorance of each other, but in ignorance of every thing which an uncivilized might learn from a civilized people—of all that might tend to improve the character or happiness of our subjects. By such a course of conduct, we make a mystery of Government,—we convert it into a craft. Shall we not, in this particular, appear to impartial observers, as behaving more like the wily priesthood of some ugly superstition, which wraps its dogmas in a recondite language, the better to secure its own power and pretensions, than the enlightened conquerors of a great country ?\*

\* “The task of enlightening the studious youth of such a nation would seem to be a tolerably straight-forward one. But though, for the college in Calcutta, (not Bishop’s College remember, but the Vidalaya, or Hindoo College,) an expensive set of instruments has been sent out, and it seems intended that the natural sciences should be studied there, the managers of the present institution take care that their boys should have as little time as possible for such pursuits, by requiring from them all, without exception, a laborious study of Sanscrit, and all the useless, and worse than useless literature of their ancestors. In Benares, however, I found, in the institution supported by Government, a professor lecturing on astronomy after the system of Ptolemy and Albunazar, while one of the most forward boys was at the pains of casting my horoscope, and the majority of the school were toiling at Sanscrit

There are some who contend that the culture and improvement of the native languages, and not the instruction of the Indians in the language of the conquerors, is the proper channel through which they are to be civilized. If the Indians and their invaders were, in point of improvement, on any terms of equality,—if they belonged even to the same race of the human species,—if the Indian languages were one instead of many, this opinion might be entitled to attention. When there is any approximation in the condition of the conquering and the conquered parties, and where there exists no repugnance in the genius of their languages, the usual and natural result is the formation of a third language through the amalgamation of the dialects of both parties. This cannot easily happen in the case of the English language, and the dialects of India, because their characters are as remote from each other, as are the manners of those who speak them, without producing a barbarous jargon. But if we were in reality to discard our own language as the paramount one, to which of the thirty dialects spoken in India should we give the preference,—which ought we to adopt as the national speech? Surely the language of a civilized people is to be preferred to any of these barbarous tongues; a language which has already the sanction of authority, of example, and of fashion; a language which is the road to preferment and emolument.\* In our situation to reject the English lan-

grammar. And yet the day before, in the same holy city, I had visited another college, founded lately by a wealthy Hindoo banker, and intrusted by him to the management of the Church Missionary Society, in which, besides a grammatical knowledge of the Hindostanee language, as well as Persian and Arabic, the senior boys could pass a good examination in English grammar, in Hume's History of England, Joyce's Scientific Dialogues, the use of the globes, and the principal facts and moral precepts of the Gospel, most of them writing beautifully in the Persian, and very tolerably in the English character, and excelling most boys I have met with in the accuracy and readiness of their arithmetic."—*Bishop Heber's Journal*, vol. ii, page 386.

\* Among the lower orders the same feeling shows itself more beneficially, in a growing neglect of *caste*, in not merely a willingness, but an anxiety to send their children to our schools, and a desire to learn and speak English, which, if properly encouraged, might, I verily believe, in fifty years' time, make our language what the *Oordoo*, or court and camp language of the country (the Hindostanee) is at present.—*Heber's Journal*, vol. ii, page 306.

guage, and to adopt, instead of it, one of the barbarous and uncultivated dialects of Hindostan, seems to us to be little better than wilfully preferring a defective machine to a perfect one, and coolly insisting in doing so, that the desired end would be accomplished more speedily and effectually with the first than with the last. In a word, we do not hesitate to say, that the endeavour to civilize the Indians, through the medium of their own imperfect and defective languages, seems an attempt about as wise as would be a scheme to maintain our dominion over them by relinquishing the use of fire arms and the bayonet, and, like some of the rudest of themselves, having recourse to clubs, slings, bows, and arrows.\*

No assertion is more frequent with the advocates of restriction, than that the Hindoos are a people unchangeable in their manners and opinions, and having a strong repugnance to all that is foreign, - to every thing like change, necessarily including every thing like improvement. The late Sir Thos. Munro, a most distinguished public officer, expressed this opinion in an unqualified manner, in his evidence at the bar of the House of Commons, in 1813. Nothing can be more natural than that such notions should be entertained by a few solitary Europeans, living amongst millions of Hindoos, or of any other people whatever. All advance in civilization is slow, and nearly imperceptible, and no wonder that an isolated observer, however great his natural acuteness, seeing the Hindoos subjected to no material cause of change, should be ready to pronounce their manners and character immutable. A few scattered Englishmen, living in Russia, in the commencement of the reign of Peter the Great, would have pronounced the Muscovites as unchangeable as the Hindoos are now pronounced to be, and, if they did not reason from analogy, but took it into their heads that Muscovites differed morally, if not

\* The Chinese appear to be the only people upon whom their conquerors have not imposed their language, or whose language has not been altered by admixture with that of their invaders. The reason is obvious enough. The conquered party in this case was far more civilized than the conquering; they were inferior to them only in military prowess. Each side has here preserved its own language, while the more civilized has imposed its laws, religion, and in some respect its manners, upon the less civilized. Even the language of the subjugated party has become the general language of business.



physically, from all the rest of mankind, they would have been utterly incapable of forming any rational conception of the vast progress which the Russians have made within the last century. Such observers would have pronounced, without hesitation, that a Russian would for ever continue to tremble at the sight of a Swede, that Russians of rank would, to the latest time, prefer quass and vodka to burgundy and champagne; cabbage and grease to French cookery; that a Russian nobleman would as soon have parted with his beard as a Persian; and that his head, to the latest posterity, must continue as "populous" as Gibbon represents that of the Emperor Julian. Sir Thomas Munro's observations applied to some thirteen millions and a half of Indians,\* among whom there were, exclusive of civil and military servants, certainly not a hundred free settlers. As long as we take the utmost pains to exclude all causes of change and improvement, no doubt there will be neither change nor improvement.† Admit these causes, and the Hindoos will be found as improveable as other races. The changes, and even improvements which the Mahomedans effected, are alone sufficient proof that the Hindoos are neither unalterable nor unimproveable. Every where they improved the government, the laws, the arts, and even the literature of the country. We are compelled at length, however reluctantly, to abandon our extravagant and fanciful notions of ancient Hindoo civilization, and to come to the rational conclusion, that the Hindoos were always inferior to their conquerors, of whatever denomination: these conquerors effected all, in im-

\* The population of the Madras Presidency, according to a census taken a few years back, was found to amount to 13,508,535 souls.

† "Nor have their religious prejudices, and the unchangeableness of their habits, been less exaggerated. Some of the best informed of their nation, with whom I have conversed, assure me that half their most remarkable customs of civil and domestic life, are borrowed from their Mahomedan conquerors; and at present there is an obvious and increasing disposition to imitate the English in every thing, which has already led to very remarkable changes, and will, probably, to still more important. The wealthy natives now all affect to have their houses decorated with Corinthian pillars, and filled with English furniture. They drive the best horses, and the most dashing carriages in Calcutta. Many of them speak English fluently, and are tolerably read in English literature."—*Heber's Journal*, vol. ii, p. 306.

proving them, that was within the scope of their ability; but still, as they were not a very powerful, or a very civilized people themselves, they are far indeed from having effected what is in our power to accomplish.

The great majority of British sojourners in India are in the Bengal provinces, and a vast majority of these within the comparatively narrow limits of the town of Calcutta: the whole number of such sojourners does not exceed three thousand persons, of which we compute that about two-thirds are inhabitants of Calcutta; the remaining third, dispersed and powerless, being scattered over the nearly 600,000 square miles beyond its limits. It is, therefore, in the European towns alone, and especially in Calcutta, that there exists any thing like an efficient cause for change and improvement; and, considering the smallness of the means, change and improvement have, since the era of the free trade, the short compass of fourteen years, been great and remarkable.

One striking example may be given. The native inhabitants of Calcutta having been admitted two years ago to sit as petty jurymen in criminal cases, an official list of qualified persons was duly published. The qualification, in respect to education, was, such a knowledge of the English language as should enable the party to follow the judge in his charge; and, in point of property, an estate of the value of £500 sterling, or the payment of a house rent of £5 per annum. Persons possessing an estate of the value of £20,000 were exempted from serving on common juries. The lists, admitted to be imperfect, showed eighty-four qualified Indians, of whom no less than fifty-seven were men possessing an estate of £20,000 or upwards.

From this simple fact, several most interesting and important deductions may be drawn. Not many years ago, even a miserable smattering of the English language was confined to a few profligate persons, whose interests brought them into immediate connexion with Europeans for no good purposes. We have here persons representing property worth, at the lowest possible estimate, £1,140,000, possessing not only a knowledge of the English language, but sufficient European education to enable them to comprehend the charge of a British judge to a jury. Of the whole number of persons

competent to serve on juries, more than sixty-seven in a hundred are of this wealthy class, showing pretty clearly that it is the higher and not the lower, or even middling orders, that are most disposed to receive European education. In the list of native jurors, there is not to be found a single Mahomedan name, either of Hindostan, Persia, or Arabia: the whole is composed of the alleged *unchangeable* Hindoos. Further, the great majority of these wealthy persons are Brahmins, and all of them men of high caste. The different reception which the jury bill received at the commercial settlement of Calcutta, where there is much intercourse with Europeans, and at the uncommercial settlement of Madras, where there is very little, ought not to be passed over. The natives of Madras held meetings, and declared that it was repugnant to their habits, institutions, religious prejudices, and inclinations, to sit on juries. One might almost suppose that the advocates of restriction in Europe had been reading them a lesson. The natives of Calcutta received the boon with satisfaction, and set about preparing petitions to Parliament, praying to be admitted to the privilege of sitting on grand, as well as petty, juries. In the course of the present session these petitions have been laid before Parliament.

The number of schools instituted at Calcutta and its vicinity, for the instruction of natives in English education, during the last few years, is extraordinary. In the town, there are twenty private religious, or benevolent institutions engaged, directly or indirectly, in the promotion of European education. In some of these, natives of the highest rank and greatest wealth have associated themselves with Europeans. Five years ago there were, in Calcutta or its neighbourhood, forty-three private schools, for the instruction of the Indians in English. As to disinclination to European learning, this is wholly out of the question. On the contrary, both the interests and the practical good sense of the natives lead them to give it a decided preference, notwithstanding some foolish attempts made to restrain them, by diverting their principal attention to the barren field of their own languages, literature, and philosophy! Even the Hindoo religion seems to be giving way before the light of reason; and it is well it should, for, independent of its spiritual consequences, the influence

which this degrading superstition exercises over civil society, is pernicious and demoralizing, far beyond that of any other known form of worship.\*

English laws and institutions, at least such as are suitable and rational, are equally popular with the Hindoos, notwithstanding the pains taken at one period to convince the English public to the contrary, and to make them believe that they were unalterably attached to their own. What but this attachment has peopled the towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay? What but this partiality makes a real property in Calcutta worth twenty years' purchase, when in the provinces it is not worth five? What but this makes a Hindoo contented with an interest of five or six per cent. for his money in the capital, when he might receive in the provinces twenty or twenty-four? The Indians, in short, are thoroughly imbued with a just sense of the advantages of being considered British subjects, and of living under the protection of English law.† When the natives, living within the pale of the English law, contrast their own prosperity and security with the poverty, disorder, and anarchy of the provinces, how should they feel otherwise?

Some eminent persons have expressed an opinion that the Hindoos stood in no need of improvement, or at all events that they were not likely to be bettered by any intercourse with us. This wanton hypothesis is fortunately nearly obsolete.

\* "But of all idolatries which I have ever read or heard of, the religion of the Hindoos, in which I have taken some pains to inform myself, really appears to me the worst, both in the degrading notions which it gives of the Deity; in the endless round of its burdensome ceremonies, which occupy the time and distract the thoughts, without either instructing or interesting its votaries; in the filthy acts of uncleanness and cruelty, not only permitted, but enjoined, and inseparably interwoven with those ceremonies; in the system of castes, a system which tends, more than any thing else the devil has yet invented, to destroy the feelings of general benevolence, and to make nine tenths of mankind the hopeless slaves of the remainder; and in the total absence of any popular system of morals, or any single lesson which the people at large ever hear, to live virtuously, and do good to each other."—*Bishop Heber's Journal*, vol. ii. page 381.

† "And it may be relied on, that the natives in general, but more particularly the Hindoos of all ranks, are proud of the distinction, (British subjects under the protection of the laws of England) and zealous for its full extension to them."—*Chief Justice East's Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*

If it be right, that a mischievous, degrading, and often a blood-thirsty superstition should be supplanted by rational religion,—that knowledge should supersede ignorance,—that feebleness and sloth should give way to energy and industry,—that poverty should be exchanged for wealth,—then the Hindoos stand in need of improvement, and it is our duty not to refuse it to them.

We repeat, that the only suitable and efficient means of improving our conquered subjects,—the only means by which one people ever conferred lasting and solid improvement upon another,—is a free and unshackled intercourse between the two parties. Will the stability of our dominion be impaired by the improvement of the Hindoos? Poor and ignorant nations are always the most liable to delusion, and the most subject to insurrection; wealthy and intelligent ones the least so. In proportion, therefore, as the Hindoos become instructed, and are rescued from their present poverty, they will only be the more easy of management. This easy management, of course, supposes the introduction of laws and institutions suitable to, and keeping pace with, their advancement in civilization. They cannot always be governed as mere helots; nor would a nation of helots be worth the governing: they must be gradually, and as they improve, admitted to a share in their own administration. If this principle be prudently and liberally acted upon, we may maintain our Indian dominion for many centuries. Sooner or later, be our administration good or bad, and soonest unquestionably in the latter case, we must lose it; for a relation which separates the governors from the governed, by a navigation of 15,000 miles, (the latter being to the former in the numerical proportion of seven to one,) cannot be a very natural or a very useful connexion to either party. In the meanwhile, such of the Hindoos as have partaken of European education, are not ambitious,—they are a frugal, and rather a mercenary people, with very little disposition to engage in politics.

If the account which we have given of the predeliction of the Hindoos and other Indians, for our language, literature, useful institutions, and knowledge, be just, (and we have full reliance upon its being so,) every Indian who acquires an English education becomes, of necessity, a convert to what may be called our political opinions, and consequently an additional support to our dominion. Should the natives

abandon their own superstitions, (the matter is already in progress,) and adopt our religious opinions, this will be an additional tie. Their conversion, whether civil or religious, must necessarily be gradual, and will be the safer and more efficient for being so, but every convert of either description will be an additional stay to the support of our dominion. Every conquest of this description, which we make upon the province of ignorance and dissatisfaction, will be a fresh accession to our own strength. The result, hitherto at least, has been exactly what we are describing it. Those among the natives who understand our language and manners, and whom experience has taught to appreciate our institutions, are invariably found to be the most faithful of our subjects; indeed, perhaps the only portion of our Indian subjects at all attached to our rule,—the only portion, in truth, who have any good reason for it. This was felt and acknowledged during the recent contest with the Birmans, and the insurrection of the Jats. The Government, indeed, was so confident of the fidelity of the great population of Calcutta, where those advantages are chiefly felt and appreciated, that it did not scruple to send away the principal military force to the seat of war, abandoning the capital with its three hundred thousand inhabitants to the protection of a few companies of European infantry, and the good-will of its inhabitants. A separation between us and the Hindoos cannot reasonably be looked for until the great majority of the latter think, speak, and act,—in a word, are as wise as their masters; an event which, with modesty and caution be it spoken, cannot be expected to take place under many centuries.

If we had no other object in view than to maintain an easy rule over the Hindoos, it would be our duty to civilize and improve them; for there is no axiom in political science more true than the one which we have already hinted at,—that prosperous and industrious communities are the most easy to govern, and poor and ignorant ones the most prone to revolt, and the most obstinate in resistance when they have revolted. Of this principle the history of the world is full of illustrations. In the progress of her conquests, Rome found the most civilized nations the easiest to subdue, and the most easy to retain in obedience when subjugated, as in the case of Egypt and of Greece, with the colonies of the latter in Italy and

Asia Minor. She found the barbarous or savage tribes of Gaal, Germany, Pannonia, Britain, Africa, and Arabia the most difficult to conquer, and the most prone to revolt when conquered. The two most wealthy, and upon the whole the two most civilized countries of Asia, (China and Hindostan) have invariably been found the most easy to conquer, and the least liable to insurrection. China has been peaceably governed for ages by a Tartar dynasty, while the poor and turbulent tribes of shepherds, from whom that very dynasty sprung, and who are still ruled by it, have been in a state of repeated and formidable revolt against it. We ourselves have found the wealthiest parts of India the most easy conquests. The easy-won battle of Plassy gave us the dominion of Bengal, and the adjacent provinces, with twenty millions of subjects, among whom, in a period of sixty-eight years, there has not been an instance of revolt—scarcely, indeed, of a tumult worth naming. On the other hand, our conquests of poorer countries have been attended with difficulty,—have often been followed by insurrection, and have been hardly worth keeping when made. We have examples of this in Malabar, in Nepaul, and in our recent contest with the Burmese. In the progress of European conquests among the Eastern islands, we find interesting illustrations of the same principle. Java, the only rich, civilized, and populous island of the Archipelago, is the only considerable one of the whole group which has been completely subjugated by European arms. In the course of two centuries, the Dutch and the English have hardly even made an impression on the great, but comparatively, uncivilized islands of Sumatra, Celebes, and Borneo. Their ephemeral conquests in these have been followed by repeated revolts. Even the petty spice islands have not been subjugated but with the utmost difficulty, and their history is remarkable for the frequency and pertinacity of their rebellions. The conquest of Java itself, of which the inhabitants are much less civilized than those of our Indian possessions, has cost the labour of two centuries. The Spaniards have been for about four centuries engaged in attempting the conquest of the Philippines and adjacent islands, and are as yet far from having accomplished their object. Where conquest has actually been effected by them, it has not been accomplished by the despotism of Spain, or the valour of the Spanish armies, or the

skill of Spanish functionaries, or the magic of Spanish monopolies, but by the quiet, yet efficacious operation of the principle of colonization,—through the influence of the language, the religion, the manners, and the knowledge of Europe. The history of the East affords no example of resistance to European arms more memorable than that of the uncivilized and scanty population of Ceylon. While the Portuguese made, for so small a nation, ample conquests on the continent of India, and while their naval power was paramount from Africa to Japan, they were foiled in every attempt to conquer the poor and abject inhabitants of Ceylon. The Dutch, after many years' efforts, succeeded no better. Even the English were full twenty years in possession of the sovereignty of the coast before they effected the conquest of the whole island,—of an island containing about one-twentieth part of the population of Bengal, which was won by a single battle in the very infancy of our power. That conquest, too, was hardly completed when a most formidable insurrection broke out, which nothing short of the direct efforts of the mother country, and the powerful aid drawn from the British possessions on the Continent, was able to quell. Similar illustrations may be drawn from the history of America. Compare the easy and permanent submission of the Mexicans, Peruvians, and other principal nations, with the brave resistance, often ending only with extermination, of the smaller tribes of savages of the same continent.

But if the resistance of nations, who have little property, be obstinate, and their insurrections formidable, the revolt of people who have no property at all, is still more to be apprehended. The insurrections, most dangerous to the Roman power, were not those of revolted colonies, or conquered nations, but of slaves and gladiators. The revolt of the slaves of St. Domingo is an equally strong case. Embracing a favourable moment, and favoured, indeed, by climate and by distance, they succeeded in securing a national independence against all the efforts of the two most powerful and civilized nations of Europe. Had the fine island of St. Domingo, instead of containing a scanty population of African slaves, been peopled with five or six millions of Hindoos, who, that knows the latter, can doubt but that it would, down to this day, have been a French, or at least an English colony, and



peradventure, in the latter case, a preserve of patronage to some "Honourable Company of Merchants trading to the West Indies," proclaiming the dangers of colonization, and insisting upon the certain advantages that would accrue to the British nation, if the Legislature would but confide to it the exclusive right of supplying the lieges with rum, coffee, and muscovadoes!

It is very true that there are other elements besides the mere wealth or poverty of nations,—besides their knowledge or their ignorance, which may materially affect the facility or difficulty of subduing or governing them. The seat of the most civilized nations will commonly be in open plains traversed by rivers, and this locality necessarily affords facilities, both for subduing them and retaining them in subjection. The seats of barbarous people, on the other hand, will often be in mountains, fastnesses, and forests, affording obstacles to the invader, and throwing difficulties in the way of retaining the conquered party in subjection. A civilized people, again, will afford the invader the resources calculated to maintain themselves in subjection, while the circumstances of a barbarous people will necessarily deny them. It is needless to say, that we make no reference to the case of civilized nations possessing national independence, civil liberty, and high intelligence. There are none such to be found in the East, nor are there likely to be for ages. Our posterity, four or five centuries hence, may have to provide for such a contingency, but it is surely not our business, as an honest people, deliberately to obstruct the progress of civilization from a remote apprehension of its occurrence.

There is one argument which has been used against the free settlement of Englishmen in India that we have not yet noticed, but which richly deserves exposure. It has been said that the natives ought to be patronised and protected—meaning protected from British emigrants; and that, with this view, all intercourse with them ought to be confined to the public functionaries of the Government. It has even been asserted that in all parallel cases, nations with despotic governments have been found to make the best masters, and nations with free institutions the very worst. Without hesitation we engage to prove that this doctrine is contradicted by all history, and that the very reverse of it is strictly true, without an exception.

We ask, in the first place, what the reader would think of a project for civilizing the Irish, based on the principle of excluding Englishmen, or the descendants of Englishmen, from improving the soil of Ireland,—based on placing all commercial intercourse with England under severe restrictions,—and based on confining the whole intercourse between the Irish and English nations to the judicial officers, constables, tax-gatherers, and tithe-proctors temporarily nominated by the latter? Such a scheme would be quite perfect, if the object was to keep the Irish in inextricable barbarism and certain misery; and yet it is a fair parallel of the project of the East India Company for civilizing the Hindoos, for securing their happiness, and improving their condition.

The progress of nations in valuable improvement and effectual civilization has never been brought about in any age or climate, except through an intercourse with strangers,—operating most beneficially through commerce, immigration, and peaceable settlement, but also operating beneficially, even through conquest itself. Primitive civilization has been confined to a very few spots of the globe. Wherever it has existed, it will be found, when abandoned to its own efforts, immature and insipid. It is the forest fruit tree transferred to the orchard, but of which, while denied the benefit of grafting, no care can improve the fruit. We have only to refer for proof to the civilization of the Hindoos themselves, especially where there has been the least of admixture with strangers,—to the civilization of ancient Egypt,—of Assyria,—of Arabia, before the time of Mahomed,—of ancient Persia,—of China,—and of Peru and Mexico, before the Spanish invasion. In all these countries despotism was established,—the people were slaves,—society made a certain progress, and then it stood still for ages, apparently incapable of moving onwards. Wherever civilization has struck a vigorous root, and produced wholesome and mature fruit, it will invariably be found to have been brought about by an admixture with strangers,—in short, by the ingraftment of exotic improvement on the rude stock of domestic acquisition. The Greeks were barbarians, until their intercourse with Italians, with Egyptians, with Persians, and even with Indians. The Romans were a rude people until their collision with strangers; they chiefly owed their civilization to their admixture with the Greeks. The Western nations of ancient Europe owed almost

every thing to their subjugation by Rome, and the planting among them of Roman colonies. The nations in the immediate neighbourhood of China have, at one time or another, been conquered by that people, who settled among them, communicated to them their language, laws, arts, and customs. In proportion as Chinese conquest and Chinese intermixture has taken place, will these nations be found improved ; and it is a conclusive fact, that the few tribes excluded from this advantage, continue to the present day in a savage state. The nations bordering upon Hindostan are civilized, or otherwise, just in proportion to the degree in which they have intermixed with the Hindoos, or been isolated from them. The Hindoos themselves, again, have been improved by an admixture with Tartars, Persians, and Arabs, as is sufficiently attested by the disappearance of human sacrifices, and other atrocities, of the existence of which, and in times not very remote, their own writings, if good for nothing else, afford sufficient evidence. The Arabs, left for ages to themselves before the time of Mahomed, continued in a stationary condition, but made a sudden start in civilization as soon as they went abroad, and came into collision with strangers. The intermixture of these Arabs with Persians and Tartars, through conquests made upon the latter, improved the Persians and Tartars. In the great Eastern Archipelago, the Hindoos and the Arabs, each in their turn, have improved the inhabitants. That improvement has just been in proportion to the commerce held with these strangers and where that commerce has not taken place at all, the Islanders are either cowering savages, or ferocious cannibals.

Our own country is an example not less instructive. What would the inhabitants of the British isles themselves have been at this day, had the Romans forbore to invade our country,—had they left our ancestors in undisputed possession of their freedom, their painted skins, and their human sacrifices ? Has civilization not advanced amongst us with every new admixture with strangers, whether Roman, Saxon, Danish, or Norman ? and this, too, although the intermixture was accompanied on all these occasions by violence, the very occupants of the soil being often expelled from their possessions. In later times, and in a different form, we have derived abundant advantages from the settlement of foreigners amongst us: we are under serious

obligations, on this head, to Jews, Flemings, and Lombards. But surely all this is too obvious to be insisted upon. The only wonder is how any man of sense should have thought of making the Hindoos, in their relation to us, the sole exception to a principle which has always embraced, and still continues to embrace, all the rest of mankind. Are the English and the Hindoos the only two people to which society, in the course of thirty ages, and amidst all her freaks, has given birth, who are wholly unfit to be entrusted to a social intercourse with each other?

We are next to examine, briefly, the question, whether in reference to our Indian administration, a free, or a despotic form of government, is the most likely to conduce to the improvement and happiness of our Indian subjects, for even such a question has been mooted. It has been distinctly asserted that the Indians would have been better treated under the subjects of a despotic, than of a free government. History has been appealed to in support of this hypothesis, which, notwithstanding the authority of Montesquieu, and its recent revival by a distinguished and experienced member of the British Legislature, we do not hesitate to pronounce a mere paradox, and a paradox, too, at direct variance with all authentic experience having any legitimate reference whatever to the question at issue.\* The free states of Greece and Italy

\* "He wished he could agree with his Right Honourable Friend (Sir James Mackintosh) in what had fallen from him on the subject of the intercourse between the inhabitants of India and the Europeans. He was sorry to say, if he looked back to all history, if he investigated the character and conduct of his own countrymen, that he was obliged to come to this conclusion, that the more free the government was at home, the more persons who had been used to such a government, held others, who had not the happiness to enjoy the same privileges, in contempt,—the more they abused their feelings, and despised a condition which they ought rather to commiserate. Though this might not be, as he dared say, a common doctrine, yet, certainly, he held it. He did believe that if India were subject to persons who had been under a despotic government at home, they would be treated much better than by those who had enjoyed the blessings of a free government. In the minds of the latter, the condition of the people in India would be sure to generate contempt. Look at the Spartan government; was there ever a more free government? Were there ever more harsh or more cruelly severe masters than the Spartans? Look at home, and they would find the same thing to have been the case there. He perfectly concurred with the doctrine of his

treated the nations which they conquered generally with barbarity. By the laws of war in ancient times, prisoners were either put to death, or doomed to perpetual slavery. They escaped one or other of these lots, only when they were too numerous, and when, therefore, it was too dangerous for the conqueror to carry the law into effect; or possibly in some cases, when the latter might have the wisdom to discover that it was more profitable to protect than to exterminate or disfranchise. The despotic states of antiquity followed the same course as free nations, and the humanity of the Persians was not a whit more distinguished than that of the Greeks and Romans. All this then proves nothing, except that the nations of antiquity throughout were, in this particular at least, mere barbarians. All barbarous nations of modern times follow precisely the same course as those of antiquity. In the wars carried on between the Birmans and Siamese, captives of rank who cannot work, and who might intrigue, are put to death, and the lower orders are condemned to slavery. The Chinese, and people of Hindostan being somewhat more civilized, treat their prisoners somewhat better. The nearer nations are to each other, and the smaller the tribe, the more violent is the collision between them, the more rancorous and inveterate their hostility, and consequently the severer the lot of the conquered party. The contest in such a case becomes a kind of family feud. The most remarkable example of this description, and one often quoted, as an illustration of the misconduct of freemen towards their dependents, is that of the Spartans to the helots. Two small neighbouring nations of Greece have a quarrel: the one conquers the other, and provoked by repeated revolts, dooms the conquered party to perpetual slavery. The conquerors in this case were, even in comparison with the rest of their countrymen, a fierce and uncivilized people, remarkable only for their courage and their love of liberty. Now, we seriously ask what possible bearing

Right Honourable Friend, that it was wise to blend the conquerors with the conquered; but the system which had been hitherto pursued would, under the course pointed out by his Right Honourable Friend, be extremely unsafe, until years of experience and reparation had undone the mischief that had already been effected."—*Speech of the Right Honourable Charles Wynn, in his place in Parliament, June 17th, 1828*—*Times Newspaper*

the case of two petty neighbouring tribes of ancient Greece, the one treating the other with a degree of rigour even beyond the practice of the age, can have upon that of modern Britain and modern India, separated from each other by half the circumference of the globe, and whose joint numbers probably exceed in a fifty-fold proportion that of all Greece put together?

Hostile political factions, even in the freest and most polished states of ancient Greece, often treated each other worse than the Spartans did the helots. They proscribed, banished, extirpated one another; but as well might this be quoted as an argument against liberty in general, as the brutality of the Spartans towards the helots be imagined of the English in reference to the Hindoos. In modern times, and amongst rude nations, we have many cases akin to the conduct of the Spartans. The tribes of the great Island of Celebes, for example, like those of ancient Greece, speak, for the most part, the same language, have the same laws, the same religion, the same institutions, and (after a fashion of their own) enjoy perhaps a larger share of personal and political liberty than any people of Asia. This does not hinder them from being in a perpetual state of warfare with each other, and the nearest neighbours are always the bitterest enemies. The constant practice of the victorious party, when it can be done with safety, (for they are perfect Spartans in this respect,) is to declare the conquered to be reduced to the state of slavery. It cannot be fairly inferred, however, from the conduct of these barbarians, that the people of Boni represent the English, or those of Macassar the Hindoos.

The maltreatment of the African race, in a state of slavery, by the free nations of Europe and America, and their alleged better treatment on the part of nations with despotic governments, has been cited as examples of the benefits of despotism to the subjugated party. The relation between the Africans and their European masters, and that between the Indians and the modern conquerors of Hindostan, have no one point of similitude that we can perceive. The African is a slave—the Indian only a subject. European Governments early declared the first to be a chattel, but the British Government has made no such enactment in regard to the latter. Their very legislatures themselves, in the case of the African, sanctioned and

authorized the wide distinction drawn between the African and European races. They declared a man with a black skin to be the property of a man with a white skin, and setting out with such a principle, they have little right to charge any unpleasant collision which may have ensued from the exercise of rights deliberately conferred by themselves, upon liberty in the abstract. But besides this there prevailed in Europe, at one time, and perhaps it is not yet absolutely extinct, a strong prejudice against flat noses and sooty complexions very hurtful to the temporal interests of the African. Some, indeed, carried their antipathy so far in this respect as to believe that an acute facial line could not, by any possibility, be accompanied by a due proportion of humanity, and this was, of course, an additional aggravation. As far as the conduct of masters can be good, under such circumstances as those in which the Africans are placed in reference to their European superiors, the example of the United States of America is a sufficient proof, that the conduct of the freest nation is not inferior to that of the most despotic. It is enough to state that the Africans, within the territory of the Union, although living in a climate more foreign to their race than any other, are the only persons in the same condition, whose numbers rapidly augment, or, indeed, augment at all, through natural increase. Our own history, for the last thirty years, evinces that as our notions of liberty improve, so does our conduct towards the slave population of our colonies, and this fact applies not only to the Legislature and people of England, but even to the Colonial Legislatures, and to the very slave proprietors themselves.

The conduct pursued by different European nations, at different periods, towards the aboriginal natives of America, illustrates the same truth. The early conduct of the Spaniards towards the Indians, when there was surely no want of despotism in their government, and when the administration of the Spanish settlements was not despotical alone, but had not even the semblance of law, is a very proverb for its cruelty and brutality. The patronage which it afterwards bestowed, and which sprung rather out of religion than policy, was scarcely less hurtful to the Americans, than their previous persecution. Under the free governments of America, these natives are now admitted to equal rights with their fellow-subjects, and some of them

have even attained seats in their Legislatures. During the war carried on against the despotism of Spain, the excitement produced elicited from them a degree of energy and enterprise little to be expected from the long lethargy in which their characters had lain, and if accounts are to be relied upon, they are now advancing rapidly in improvement. It was when our own notions of liberty were crude and imperfect, that we hunted down and exterminated the savage tribes of North America. Both we and our descendants now treat the remnant of these same savages with a consideration and humanity unknown to our ancestors.\*

The history of European ascendancy in India itself is to a similar effect. The despotism of Spain and Portugal are the only two Governments which ever instituted any thing like a religious persecution of the natives. It was only when the Spaniards and Portuguese had themselves colonized, and, in religion and manners, assimilated with the native inhabitants, that their conduct became tolerant, and their administration conciliatory. The Dutch, whose Indian Government at least, had always been purely despotical, because, for the most part, vested in a corporate body little subject to the control of the

\* "At the establishment of the Federal Government, under the present constitution of the United States, the principle was adopted of considering them (the savage tribes) as foreign and independent powers, and also as proprietors of lands. They were moreover considered as savages whom it was our policy and our duty to use our influence in converting to Christianity, and bringing within the pale of civilization. As independent powers, we negotiated with them by treaties; as proprietors, we purchased of them all the lands which we could prevail upon them to sell; as brethren of the human race, rude and ignorant, we endeavoured to bring them to the knowledge of religion and letters. The ultimate design was to incorporate, in our own institutions, that portion of them which could be converted to the state of civilization. In the practice of European states, before our revolution, they had been considered as children, to be governed; as tenants at discretion, to be dispossessed as occasion might require: as hunters, to be indemnified by trifling concessions for removal from the grounds upon which their game was extirpated."—This quotation, which is from the last speech of Mr. President Adams to Congress, will, we presume, be considered as a fair representation of the policy of the United States of America towards the savage tribes living within its territory. We do not hesitate to say, that the history of despotism, ancient or modern, may be looked into in vain for any thing parallel to it



State, were, throughout, remarkable for their mismanagement of the Indians. The French, and surely their Government was despotic enough under Louis XV, were, notwithstanding the known amenity of their manners elsewhere, eminently unsuccessful in conciliating the natives of India; and it is a circumstance well ascertained, that their violations of native rights and usages contributed, in no small degree, to their failure in that country. Their conduct, in this respect, was always less discreet, and even less humane, than ours, with our free Government and our free institutions. Our East India Company must not take the merit of this to themselves, for the French also had their East India Company and their East India monopoly.

What, however, will perhaps be considered as more to the point than all that has now been adduced, is this, that every improvement made by ourselves towards rendering the Government of India a government by law,—every admission either of Englishmen or of Indians to a share, however small, of constitutional rights,—every departure from a Government purely arbitrary, has increased our popularity with the native inhabitants, and tended to the consolidation of our power.

During the first twenty years of our Indian rule, virtual, or sanctioned by treaty, our government of India was purely arbitrary; the East India Company administered territory, and resources, without any legal authority whatever. Was this period distinguished by a conciliatory conduct towards the native inhabitants,—by attention to native rights, usages, and institutions? Quite the contrary; it was characterized by violation of native rights, fraud and corruption on the part of the public officers, confusion, anarchy, and rebellion. Reform commenced with the interference of Parliament, and wherever it has interfered, to bestow constitutional rights, our good treatment of the inhabitants has kept pace with it. It will be sufficient to refer to the restoration by its authority, of proprietors to lands, of which they had been dispossessed;—the institution of courts of justice, independent of the civil governments, the most popular and useful innovation of all;—the appointment, instead of the officers of the Company's Government, of English statesmen to be governors,—with the local improvements introduced by these;—the extension of the commercial intercourse with Great Britain, with the increased intercourse between the

English and Indians, to which it has necessarily given rise; and finally, the conferring upon the natives the right of sitting upon juries. There is scarcely one of these innovations that was not deprecated at the time of its introduction, and not one that has not proved eminently beneficial.

The project of bestowing peculiar patronage on the weak and disfranchised classes of society is one from which arbitrary governments have often endeavoured to draw to themselves a little popularity. The East India Company, like others of the same family, has repeatedly come forward as the champion of the Hindoos. Having themselves already loaded these Hindoos with taxes, and disfranchised them, they manfully step forward to protect them against imaginary danger from others. We have one notable example on record of the consequences of such patronage, the protection which Spain afforded to the American Indians against its own European subjects or their descendants. The case is so much in point that it deserves to be adverted to. By the code of laws made for the protection of the native Americans, they were pronounced to be of pure blood; their chiefs had the privileges of Spanish nobles; the natives who lived in separate villages were restrained from wandering from them, with the most patriarchal tenderness for their safety; they were governed exclusively by officers of their own tribes; above all, neither Spaniards nor persons of the mixed races, were allowed to settle among them,—to buy, or in any manner to encroach upon their lands. To prevent their simplicity from being abused, the Indians were prohibited from disposing of their real property, even amongst themselves, without the intervention of a magistrate;—they could neither contract nor conclude bargains for a greater sum than the value of three Spanish dollars. Every species of oppression to which they were exposed was minutely guarded against by law, and a suitable remedy provided for it. In a word, they were placed under the protection of all the constituted authorities of the Spanish Government, who were bound to defend them from injustice and secure them from wrong. Such were the elaborate pains taken by the Government of Spain for the protection of its Indian subjects. The consequences are too well known.\*

\* The following description of these consequences is taken from the review of the Baron Humboldt's great work, in the 16th vol. of the *Edinburgh Review*. We copy it the more readily, from knowing that it

The Indians, not only deprived of all national independence, but reduced to a state of pupillage by the affected securities bestowed upon them, lost all energy of character, even that little which belonged to them under their native Government, while the mixed races, and creoles, who not only had no patronage or peculiar securities, but, on the contrary, were subjected to innumerable disabilities, have, in spite of all the efforts and oppression of Spain, acquired a force of character, the results of which are sufficiently known. There are so many features of resemblance between the sort of protection which Spain bestowed upon the American Indians, and that which we ourselves would affect to bestow upon the Hindoos, that it is impossible the reader should not be struck with the similarity. There are, to be sure, circumstances in the condition of the Hindoos, and in the nature of our relations with them, which must always prevent the pretended patronage of the East India Company from becoming so mischievous in its operation as that of the Spanish Government. In the first place, our patronage is not carried so far, because the Hindoos, a people far more elevated in the scale of society than the Mexicans and Peruvians, would not for a moment endure such vexatious and pernicious trammels. In the next, a competition for labour on the part of foreign settlers cannot take place in a densely-peopled country like India, as it did in the thinly-peopled regions of America. The American could afford to be idle, to be a mere drone, or the next thing to it, while the settler or emigrant laboured. On the contrary, the stimulus of necessity im-

is from the pen of a great philosopher and an eloquent writer, the late Professor Playfair.—“This system of favour and protection to the Indians,” says he, after a description of the laws enacted in their behalf, as we have transcribed them in the text, “was, no doubt, dictated by motives of humanity; but it may be questioned whether some of its provisions have not contributed essentially to retard their progress in culture and civilization. The permission conceded to them, of living in separate communities, under Caciques of their own nation, without any intermixture of strangers, excludes them from instruction, perpetuates their ignorance, and subjects them to the oppression of magistrates, against whom they have no means of redress, as they are seldom acquainted with any other language than their own. The state of pupillage in which they are kept, as a protection against fraud and imposition, destroys the energy of their character, and detains them in perpetual childhood.”

parts to the Hindoo a certain portion of industry which protects him from an equal debasement. The Hindoos then are not in a condition that will admit of their being reduced by particular patronage to the state of dull and apathetic ignorance to which it has reduced the American Indian. An impertinent protection, however, and the exclusion of all those means which have contributed to the improvement of other races of men, may keep the Hindoos stationary for ever, and its influence, in effecting this purpose, has been exerted unquestionably with no inconsiderable success during the last half century; ever since the rigid proscription of interlopers, the virtual exclusion of English enterprise and capital; ever, in a word, since the East India Company became the avowed and exclusive patrons of the people of India.

For a government administering a country, occupied by various races, in different and opposite states of society, there is, if the Legislator desire to escape from the evil of perpetuating the feebleness and degradation of the great mass of the people on the one hand, and the domination and tyranny of a caste on the other, but one safe course to pursue, viz. to confer upon all the same rights and immunities, and the same just and equal administration of laws. Any departure from this principle inevitably leads to injustice, inconvenience, and confusion. Peculiar patronage to the weak is especially a dangerous illusion. The feeble and ignorant must be placed in a state of wholesome collision, and fair emulation with the strong and the intelligent, as the only practicable means of sharpening and invigorating their faculties, and raising them in the scale of society. Such has ever been the nature of the discipline by which, in every well-regulated community, the industrious and talented of the lower classes have been raised to an equality with the middling orders,—that the middling orders, with similar endowments, have emulated, or equalled the higher;—and that the higher themselves have been hindered from degenerating into drones or tyrants. India, indeed, is not exactly the field where the most rapid improvement can be looked for, even under the freest operation of this indispensable principle. Here there are obvious circumstances connected with distinctions of race, of complexion, of religion, and of manners, which will, more or less, obstruct or narrow its beneficial influence; but it would be utter idleness to imagine that

the main-spring of social improvement in every other age and climate should lie dormant and inoperative,—nay, should be even prejudicial in reference to British India.

It has been often asserted, that India ought not to be held for the exclusive benefit of England, and that the security and protection of our Indian subjects ought to be the main object of our policy.\* This assertion supposes, according to our judgment, one of the most untenable doctrines ever advanced; it supposes that the mother country may be benefited by the misgovernment of its colony, and that, in short, their interests are opposite and divided: they are, however, inseparable and indissoluble; it is impossible to misgovern the one without inflicting an injury upon the other; the wealth and prosperity of India are sure to produce advantages to England, while her poverty, oppression, or unfair and unequal treatment, even under the guise of favouring metropolitan industry, are sure, in the long run, to render all intercourse with her unprofitable or valueless. Did England benefit by the restraints imposed upon Irish industry, although avowedly imposed for her own interest? or, rather, is it not notorious that these restraints were equally prejudicial to both parties, and, that in propor-

\* “He was glad to see, and hoped there would be a much more extensive communication between Europeans and India; but then, he regretted to say, there must be a continuance of the same strict regulations. He held it absolutely necessary that the inhabitants of India should be protected. That ought to be their chief object. India must not be held solely for the benefit of this country,—solely as a means of wealth to England. They had a higher duty to perform in providing for the security and happiness of the inhabitants.”—*Speech of the Right Honourable C. W. Wynn, late President of the Board of Control, in his place in Parliament. Times Newspaper, 18th June, 1828.*—We have preferred quoting in this, as in former instances, the opinions of a man of talent and information, to those of vulgar objectors, chiefly because they exhibit the prevalence of, what we deem to be, serious errors, even in the highest quarters. Mr. Wynn is the author of the only measure of a generous and constitutional character which has been enacted for the good government of India for many years past,—the admission of Indians to the right of sitting on juries; and, therefore, we cannot be suspected of any disrespect or disinclination towards him. The liberal sentiments, indeed, contained in many parts of the speech from which we have quoted, it may be added, are quite new in an official man, and afford a cheering evidence of the progress of just opinions on the most vital questions connected with Indian legislation.

tion as they have been removed, both have been benefited? The case cannot be otherwise in regard to the connexion between Great Britain and India.

Previous to the year 1814 both England and India had suffered sufficiently from the system of restriction under which we had acted, but England undoubtedly was the greatest sufferer of the two. There had then been incurred, on the credit of the British nation, for the use of India, a debt of one sort or another amounting at the very lowest calculation to thirty-four millions sterling: the people of England paid before then, as they now do, on account of a monopoly which we have been often told was for the benefit of the people of India, a yearly contribution of some two millions sterling, and the commerce of the people of England had been excluded from half the world,—all for the supposed benefit of the people of India. What advantage did England derive to compensate for these enormous sacrifices, no one, we think, has ever ventured even to conjecture. Under the ancient system of restriction then, and matters are as yet not very materially altered, the principal disadvantages of the connexion were on the side of England, although we are very far indeed from believing that India reaped corresponding benefits. The allegation that the settlement of Englishmen in India,—their purchase of lands,—their introduction of capital, of arts, of industry, and of useful example, are injurious to the people of that country, is a delusion which we have already sufficiently exposed. The admirers of the ancient order of things—those who, when in possession of the government, created monopolies of the staple articles of the country, and who themselves exercised a right of pre-emption in the Indian markets, have since gone the length of pretending that the introduction of cheap British manufactures was a grievous infliction upon the inhabitants. How a province, not from the nature of things a manufacturing country, can possibly be injured by receiving manufactures from the mother country, eminently a manufacturing one, and at about one-third the price which the province could possibly make them for itself, is to us incomprehensible, and the more especially so, when it is considered that this introduction of cheap manufactures has been accompanied by large increased exports of the raw produce, of every species, which that province is capable of producing. There is, however, an inequality in the duty levied respectively

in England and India upon each other's manufactures, and this has afforded grounds for some vague declamation. The duty levied upon British cottons in India is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. whereas the duty levied upon Indian cottons in England is 10 per cent. making a difference in favour of the English manufacturer of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. which is, no doubt, a very foolish thing, but, it must be added, at the same time, that the distinction, in consequence of the vast disproportion in the cost of the two descriptions of manufacture, is wholly inoperative,—that the discriminating duty, in short, is a dead letter. Were the difference, in reality, to be given as a bonus on the importation of the Indian manufactures, instead of being nominally imposed upon it, it is impossible they should become articles of considerable consumption in this country. We exported cotton manufactures to India, last year, to the value of above two millions sterling, that is, we furnished the Indians for about three millions sterling, with commodities, which, in the good olden times, would, probably, have cost them about nine millions. Who is injured by this proceeding? It is answered, the Indian operative weavers, who formerly furnished the Company's investment, and in the produce of whose labour the Company exercised a right of pre-emption. These weavers, at the utmost a few thousands in number, represent then, the injuries inflicted on a hundred millions of people! But is it really true that even these persons have been injured by the obvious benefit conferred upon the rest of their countrymen? We think it can be very easily shown that they have not. The quantity of Indian cotton goods imported into England, in the year 1814, that is, before the free trade could have operated to their prejudice, was 2,028,126 pieces. In 1828, it was only 435,543 pieces. The loss of market then to the Indian weaver, from the free trade, on a period of fourteen years, amounts yearly to 1,646,585 pieces. These may be valued at present according to the custom-house returns, at £798,119. Cotton, however, is not the only material in which weavers are employed in India. The quantity of pieces of Indian silk (Chinese excluded) imported in 1814, was only 76,550. In 1828 it was 163,906, being an advance of 88,356 pieces, worth about one pound a piece. This reduces the loss of market to the Indian weaver to £709,763. But, besides this, the free trader now supplies the Indian weaver with a new material for his loom, unknown

to him in former times, viz. cotton twist. Including domestic and foreign, there were exported of this commodity, last year, to the value, within a small fraction, of £400,000, reducing the loss of market to the Indian weaver to £309,763. It may reasonably be supposed, that the additional quantity of the raw produce from India taken by the English market, and which in the three articles of cotton, indigo, and sugar, (Mauritius excluded,) exceeded in value, in 1828, what it was in 1814 by above one million six hundred thousand pounds, is some compensation to India for the no very considerable sum by which the consumption of Indian manufactures has decreased in this country. After the account we have given of the export of cotton twist, and this extenuated representation of the injury done to the weaver, we should not be much surprised to hear the woes of India, from the miseries of free trade, transferred from the latter to the cotton spinners, in which case the representatives of all India would necessarily be reduced to a handful of old women!

Setting, however, all reasoning from such facts as we have now adduced, out of the question, has any one ever heard of an Indian weaver being thrown out of employ through the introduction of British manufactures? We believe not; nor in such a state of society as exists in India do we think the thing possible. There may have taken place some modification of the manner in which his labour is employed, but nothing more. We send no coarse fabrics to India, for this obvious reason, that the quantity of skill and labour, added to the prime cost of the raw material, is comparatively trifling; and of this description it is a well ascertained fact, that the production in India, both for consumption and for exportation, has materially increased since the introduction of the free trade. New markets for them have been found in South America, while the old ones, amongst the Indian Islands, the adjacent countries, Persia and Arabia, have been much extended. Instead, then, of manufacturing fine articles for luxury, such as were formerly exported, the Indian weaver now manufactures articles of necessity, of which the consumption is far more general, and for the fabrication of which his qualifications are much better suited. But, if the whole of India were, after all, supplied with British manufactures, what harm would result? The Indian weaver is, in almost



every case, also a cultivator,—passing part of the day at his loom, and part at his plough. In a rude country, comparatively understocked with labourers, where the natural direction of capital is not to manufacturing but to agricultural industry, it would be inflicting no great injury upon him, if he were compelled to employ the whole of his time at the latter only. From being, as always happens in such cases, a bad artisan and a bad husbandman, there might be some prospect of his making a tolerable proficiency in the latter capacity.

THE END.

# LETTER

TO THE AUTHOR OF A

“VIEW OF THE PRESENT STATE

AND

FUTURE PROSPECTS OF THE FREE TRADE

AND

COLONIZATION OF INDIA;”

OR,

A PLAIN AND PRACTICAL REVIEW

OF THE ABOVE

IMPORTANT SUBJECTS.

BY

DESH-U-LUBUN OCHARIK,

*. OF CALCUTTA.*

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## . L E T T E R.

WORTHY SIR,

UNGRATEFUL would be my brethren for the blessings bestowed on this country, by the enlightened natives of yours, were they to disregard the means of instruction and information which intelligent Englishmen, like yourself, are daily spreading forth for their edification and improvement. Your late publication, a “View of the present State and future Prospects of the Free Trade and Colonization of India,” has reached us; and while millions here are poring over its contents, we avow the incalculable obligations which your liberal consideration for our welfare and advancement has conferred on every Asiatic subject of Great Britain. Whether we admire the unprejudiced and disinterested nature of your solicitude for us; whether we consider the gratuitous and truly noble opposition you are now arraying against those whom you distinguish as our oppressors, and to whom you

attribute all our evils; whether we regard you as the spontaneous, uninfluenced and unrequited champion of free commerce with India, or as the kind and tender advocate for the free colonization of your gentle countrymen among us – still our thanks are equally and essentially your due. We know not which to admire most, the honourable alacrity with which you have espoused our cause, or the excellent manner in which you have advanced it.

I need not repeat to you how many of my brethren have gladdened themselves in the wisdom of your writings, particularly where they so faithfully pourtray the mismanagement of our rulers, from governors-general and members of council downwards, to the veriest *crannies* or clerks here and in Leadenhall-street. How they have hung on the oracular prognostications of our future weal, as the natural result of a proper reverence for, and implicit reliance on, your infallible dogmas! How they have drank in with proper conviction and holy credence your accurate calculations and statements! Some of the more sanguine of our community already enjoy in imagination the happy and glorious results you would predict for us. Our fancies picture forth the civilization you would promise for the happy population of this clime. We see arts and sciences, and every blessing, (save only your machinery for the production of profitable trade, a reciprocal equalization of duties, and a few other such poor advantages,) no longer confined to a

cold monopolizing portion of the globe. We view our millions emerge from their present degradation—our coolies and pariahs gloriously arrayed in the white and printed calicoes of Manchester and Glasgow—our fields no longer bearing the homely harvests of rice, corn, and badjra, but passing away from the possession of our unenlightened zumeendars into the hands of your intelligent capitalists, and thenceforward flourishing only as one vast midaun of indigo and cotton; while tobacco, tea, coffee, sugar, and other produce of eminence in your English price-currents, rise luxuriantly around—all India exhibiting an uninterrupted parterre of exclusive culture for free trade.

My brethren and myself find it difficult, however, to keep pace with you, even in the disinterested fervour of your anxiety to serve ourselves: thus we fail sometimes to arrive so quickly at the same conclusions as you do, as to the means of best effecting the purpose. It is, alas! too true, that we have not YET arrived at the state of perfection you have in store for us; and thus our minds, even while we admit the general value of your immaculate reasoning, will not permit us to be wholly convinced by it. Even with you as a guide, we turn astray in our ignorance and present want of information. Humbly we avow, with a feeling of deep shame at such a confession, that we do not thoroughly comprehend the full force of your arguments in detail. It is to announce this dearth of comprehension, and to elicit

from you the removal of our few remaining doubts, that I am now instigated by certain of my Brother-Baboos to take up my pen. You will, no doubt, fully appreciate the value of my doing so, and of the additional argument with which my Letter will furnish you. You will hail it as a farther proof of the “benefit conferred on India by the operation of the free trade,” when a Calcutta Baboo, of its Burra Bazaar, can thus venture to write at all on the same mysterious, erudite, and momentous subject as yourself.

Free trade—that is, mutual commerce, full, unrestricted, and plenteous as you can make it—must doubtless prove of advantage to a country like British India. And it might be better for us if, instead of four or five millions of exports from England, our fair and natural means of consumption could call for thrice that amount; more particularly if our returns in the legitimate and beneficial produce of India could fairly keep pace with your supplies. Thus far may be easily comprehended; nay, more, we can approve of the introduction of your “capital, skill, and intelligence” among us, provided that, in thus endeavouring to promote your own benefit, you do not entirely exclude from consideration what is due to our feelings and interests. Willing, therefore, as we may be to avail ourselves of the offers of assistance of yourself and our other English friends, we deem it expedient to stipulate for some participation in the advantages, whatever they may be

that are expected to result from your contemplated changes in the intercourse with us ; and to moderate our desires of a coalition with our proposed allies, until they shall have more clearly shewn us what we are to gain by exposing to hazard the comparatively solid advantages of protection and tranquillity enjoyed by us under the existing system. And certainly, on looking back to the result of the experiments made a few years ago, with the view of extending the trade with us, we are not able to see so clearly as you appear to do, the immense advantages alleged to have thence accrued either to ourselves, or to the English merchants who engaged their property therein : having, on the contrary, arrived at very different conclusions on this part of the subject, we are disposed, before farther experiments are made, and before a closer alliance between us is formed, to consider well their probable consequences to ourselves ; so that you will clearly perceive we are not yet quite resolved to concur with you in blaming the Parliament, nor in scoffing at our masters for not handing over our fields and possessions to be converted into experimental plantations, for the exclusive gratification of speculators and adventurers from London, Liverpool, and Glasgow.

You state, and the calculations you adduce are affirmed to bear you out, that, since the opening of the new charter, the East India Company have been *beaten* out of the field—because the free-traders have annually increased their extent of speculation,



and because, in 1827, they completed shipments to India to the amount of nearly four millions sterling—the Company declining to export goods to the amount even of one million.

You affirm that the free trade has been in a course of thriving speculation, because an increasing one, and would dismiss all possible cavil at its wisdom by discarding the only argument, you say, its opponents can bring against it; namely, that it is “a losing trade.” Such loss you neither pause to refute, nor inquire into; the success of the trade being with you determined by its *increase*, your calculations condescend not to notice the result; it is immaterial, amid the magnitude of your policy, whether it is profitable or otherwise.

There are other points on which you comment at no little length: these I shall touch upon in due course; but, in the first place, let me generally inquire into the leading positions which you have taken up.

That the Company had been, for many years, retiring from their export trade to India was evident, long before the free-trader had access to this market. Nor would it have required a King Suliman, that patron of Tyrean and Eastern trade, nor Sultaun Akbar, in his Brahminical and Mahomedan knowledge, to unravel this mystery, or explicate the cause. Woollens in India were found to be limited in demand then, as at present. Metals equally so. Cotton goods at the close of last century, and at

the early part of this, were not so inordinately multiplied as at the present era ; and the only articles, beyond a certain limit in metals and woollens, that gave a fair remunerating profit, were those perishable and miscellaneous minor ones, which the Company could scarcely undertake to supply themselves, and which, therefore, naturally fell to the privileged private trade of the officers of their chartered shipping.

But in 1814, when the new charter was granted in its present modified and experimental shape, and the trade itself was thrown open, never could circumstances have combined to lavish greater facilities for the prosecution of commerce than were then opportunely, and almost simultaneously, presented to the British mercantile community. If, at any time, and under any probable circumstances, success could have been reasonably expected to result from an extension of your trading intercourse with India, that period and the then concurring circumstances would assuredly have realized it. The general peace shortly took effect, bringing with it into immediate or early operation its multifarious consequences. The whole of the tonnage employed during the war, not simply for transport uses, but for all the many purposes connected with a war of such vast extent, ceased to have employment. The numerous vessels, *bonâ fide* the property of English merchants, but with fabricated papers, and employed

abroad ; the various ships at sea under other flags, but worked and freighted only through British capital, which the then state of affairs, and either the wants of the war itself, or its interdictions, caused to be so engaged—these all fell back on the hands of their actual and virtual owners. Again, at this time the many uses to which capitalists, during such a war, had turned their means to activity and account, all abruptly failed them. Our Indian empire, by its treaties and conquests, and its new settlements, was beginning to exhibit a larger field for enterprise ; while the power of machinery at this juncture was attaining in England a gigantic and extraordinary increase, and goods and manufactures were multiplied to an unheard of extent. Such, then, were the features that marked the opening of the new commerce to the famed and imaginary El Dorado of the East, and no wonder that “ speculation soon ran mad,” as has been aptly said ; and cargoes upon cargoes came pouring and hurrying into Asia. For, in a short time, the mania had its corresponding effect on the European mercantile community in India also. The trade thus met at Calcutta an apt and temporary support ; and, notwithstanding the preposterous selection of goods for such a market, and the ignorance and folly of the shippers, which many of the investments betrayed, a partial and adventitious piece of success here and there seemed to give a character

and consistency to speculation, and even allured new adventurers into the field. But about 1818 there was a slight check to this race of folly. The godowns of the Calcutta commission-agents, and the warehouses of the merchants and corresponding houses, became literally choked up with unsaleable goods of every possible variety. They could not remain there. The agent, as a matter of course, must realise and secure his own commission. Sales were forced and effected on very ruinous terms. Bar iron, square and flat, was literally begging in the Bazaar for purchasers, at 2 rupees 12 as.\* per factory maund; lead at no more than double that price; cordage at about 20 shillings the cwt.; and copper, bolt, and sheathing at 30 to 35 current rupees per factory maund. The perishable articles were almost thrown away, and even the best selling at a discount of full 50 per cent. It is a notorious fact, that the best Hodgson's pale ale, after its long and precarious voyage, was selling at about 20 rupees per hogshead; while claret and champagne were retailed so ridiculously cheap, that they were becoming the common table wines of the young clerks of every counting-house. To crown all, the American ship captains and mates were positively laying

\* About eight shillings the cwt., or £8 per ton! after freight, insurance, commission, loss of interest; and with the new difficulty coming on of how to remit back the proceeds! The price quoted also implies a selection of the very best working sizes from  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch to 2 inches; the heavy descriptions and broad flat ditto were unsaleable for years.

in at our outcries large stocks of English goods and commodities, to take back 12 or 15,000 miles to their own country, to dispose of there as a good speculation!

At this juncture, many minor houses that had attempted the trade failed or seceded from it in dismay. The old-established and more respectable agency firms of Calcutta withdrew their support and participation; and the free trade itself now fell under the almost exclusive management of a new community of East India speculators in London, and elsewhere. These persons had, for the most part, been connected with the shipping interests under the old system; and having, on the plea of their knowledge of markets, and general information as to the Eastern ports, insinuated themselves into connexion with establishments of the large manufacturing towns, they, jointly with them, endeavoured, at any risk, to protract and continue their exports. The speculators themselves, or, as we may describe them, the originators and advisers of the adventures, were, generally speaking, men who had little to lose. The precariousness or hazardous nature of the transactions was not for them to consider; it was the mere continuance and extension of shipments which they, in common with their correspondents abroad, (by this time the minor agents, or petty houses of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay,) were anxious to effect: such continued shipment on which they levied their

charges and commission, with the occasional large funds placed at their command, the consequent influence, employment of tonnage, petty patronage, and city mercantile importance, being their sole subsistence, and, in fact, their very existence itself in business.

The immense stocks of goods in India, of which sales were forced in the first instance, were now bringing ruin and embarrassment among the native shop-keepers and extensive dealers, at second hand, of the Bazaar. These persons were now necessitated to get rid of their stocks at any sacrifice. Thus it was that the neighbouring community became purchasers and consumers, as it were, in spite of their opposing habits and interests. Cotton goods were notoriously hawked about the vicinity of Calcutta at less than half their prime cost; they were literally thrown away upon the neighbourhood. Buyers, of course, were lured into the possession of these novel articles, scarcely desiring them, but seduced into the purchase by the ridiculous cheapness of the commodity. The goods themselves, though fair to the eye, were decidedly inferior in wear, durability, and intrinsic value to the native commodity;\* but still the present preposterously low

\* This may appear incredible to Englishmen at home; but let me put it to the European community in India, whether in their families they have found the imitation long cloths, cossas, sauns, baftahs, and izarees, wear half as long only as the old native article of these designations, now fast disappearing, but formerly produced at Gazeepore, Juanpore, Dacca, Luckipore, and along the coast. The cost of material in Europe makes the manufacturer there too sparing of the cotton itself in the fabric of every cloth pre-

prices became an object of attraction ; and the glut of these cottons threw the old country article in the shade. Then it was the neighbouring weavers and native cloth-merchants began to find their own labour and stock to be falling off in demand, while it was impossible to lower the price of their goods ; for, in a country like India, with its dense population, labour and native commodities had long since reached their minimum of price. All these circumstances were not lost upon the trader. This casual and easy-to-be-explained consumption of portions of their consignments, was magnified by interested people into success and demand. New shipments and adventures were urged forward.\* The discou-

pared by machinery, while the attenuated thread he employs, with its fibrous strength too much elongated and deteriorated by the machine, can produce only a flimsy article, more even and regular to the eye, I grant, than the native cloth, but far more likely to go to pieces after the first few Indian washings, and manipulations of the native Dhobee.

\* *Note by the Printer.*—The *Standard* of September last has a paragraph in it, written on purpose, it would seem, to corroborate this reasoning of our Hindoostanee author.

“ This is the plain state of the case, and it may account clearly enough for such cases of increased exports :—A merchant in London finding it necessary to meet engagements for imported goods, and perhaps having more credit with the English linen-dealer, who is anxious to keep his starving weavers alive, and his establishment unbroken up, and to unload his warehouses at any loss, takes upon credit a quantity of linen at a loss to the manufacturer, which he sends abroad, and pays away at a loss also. And hence the chain of credit and of loss, regularly progressive, is carried on, to the undermining of all the security in the country, to the great gain of the foreign dealer, and no doubt to the honour of free trade. This, too, must have an end ; and, however it may gain time for the individual, it must accelerate the general catastrophe. We leave these facts for the free traders to answer.”

agement to the native weaver was thenceforth kept up, although at enormous sacrifice to the Englishman ; and in time, as the former withdrew in actual suffering and starvation from the unnatural competition, his antagonist was gradually establishing a call and seeming necessity for what he had first introduced, at heavy loss only, into notice.

Thus, and thus only, was upheld and prolonged the new commerce ; the exportation of piece goods and a few other commodities, coupled with the gradual relinquishment of private trade on the part of the Company's shipping, poorly and precariously supporting it, and yielding a faint colour, at times, to the scheming suggestions of those who urged its extension.

But all this time the licensed and country shipping, consisting mainly of heavy tonnage, was fast failing under its ill-paid and ruinous employment of carrying for so improvident a trade. Merchants and large ship-owners soon began to cast the onus of its support from off themselves, and shrank away from personal loss, as well as circumstances would admit, under such expensive property. Thus they frequently adopted in Calcutta and elsewhere the plan of making the sailing captains purchase, at the high rate of valuation standing in their books, certain large shares of the vessels—they advancing, at profitable interest, the means of purchase, upon the security of mortgage on the ship, and heavy insurance of life, &c. &c. It was the same plan they had pur-



sued with unprofitable indigo works ; adventurers, without a sixpence, being ever found by them as ready purchasers. By such means, they turned a portion of their stock into seeming profit, while the captain had the empty honour of half-owner-ship conferred on him at the ruinous cost of accumulating compound interest, which, including that on the debt, life-insurance, commission, and charges, came to little less than 17 per cent. This could but run its length ; and the King's Bench in England, or a similar fate abroad, was fast staring these unhappy gentlemen in the face, when the Burmah war in India, most opportunely for them, called into employment a portion of the ruined tonnage. The high rate of monthly hire given by the Eastern governments for transports now enabled those concerned to delude themselves and their home friends with new hopes : like every other faint opening in the Eastern commerce, it only prolonged and increased the feverish madness of adventure. A reprieve being given to the shipping, outward freights were solicited, new ships brought into the trade, and speltre, having been discovered as a novel article of export, whole dead-weight cargoes of that article, coals for steam, and fresh cotton goods, afforded a temporary struggling employment to the maritime interests of the trade, and a sickly extension to its prosecution.

It would be of little utility to prolong this history of ruinous and unwise speculation, thus dropsically and fatally distending itself ; but from the fore-

going detail of a few of the leading facts relating to the commerce, an opinion may be formed why, in 1827, the results as to *extent* were nearly four millions of exports, and of shipping, clearing outwards, 72,890 tons. In my view, the causes of such *extent* are as opposite to success as light to darkness, or as truth and common sense are to the mean distortions and fallacies of acrimonious delusion !

Let me enquire, if such tonnage be in active existence—DOES IT PAY ?—can £4 to £5 per ton, for light goods, and £2. 10s. to £3. 10s., for heavy freight, cover even one half of the common wear-and-tear expences of the hull of the ship itself ? Yet nine-tenths of your boasted tonnage have lately been craving employment at such rates ; as you may discover by reference to any price current here, or Calcutta paper ! Like your speltre speculations, with more than three years stock lately lying useless and uncalled for in India ;—like your woollens, lavished on us in such quantities that stout broad cloths of good texture and colour, of the description known in the trade as six-quarter cloths, and on which the expence of freight, insurance, interest, charges, &c. had been incurred, were often vainly seeking a sale in Calcutta, at 1 rupee, 12 annas. per yard ;—like your overwhelming supply of piece-goods, which could not realise even prime cost ; or, if sold, without the means of remitting home the proceeds, with a loss of nearly 25 per cent. on the rupee :—like these and every other over-done, glutted branch of your free-

trade—your shipping could not, at this moment, realise for you five shillings in the pound of its value on your books; and your returns from India are unsaleable, but at a sacrifice.

But leaving for a time the question of loss, and considering only the increase and extent of exports, which you take to be the indisputable criterion of success, and which, therefore, you put forth vauntingly in figures and calculations, in every possible shape and point of view; let us now investigate this very extent itself. In 1827, the exports you shew are £3,903,006.\* Of the component parts of this I need not speak just now: its total, which you deem so astounding, will be sufficient for my present purpose. Why, my worthy Sir, is this *all* you have to shew, as the united grand result of the gathered intelligence, capital and activity of your famed commercial empire, now the gates have been opened wide for its speculation; and after all that the advocates for unrestricted trade had prognosticated, when they worked so bravely in 1813 and 1814 to oppose the East India Company? Since that period, the Malay peninsula and its vicinity has been thrown open to you. We have greatly increased here our political, and consequently, our commercial relations; in the Gulph, and to the westward, there is

\* By the way, I shall not pause to quarrel with you for the error under which, in your sundry statements and calculations, you at times make use of the “declared value” of exports, &c; at others, their “official value:” the error may tell both ways.

now every intercourse, which is worth having through the medium of the country shipping. We have more than doubled the British territories on the continent of Hindoostan, with an accession to the population of I know not how many millions of subjects. Your intimacy with the customs and wants of the native community has been progressing (of course,) for the last dozen years. The military force has been nearly doubled since the charter. There have been heavy war calls as well as a regular increased demand for military stores, metals, &c. Idle shipping and tonnage, at the lowest possible rates, have even been courting your speculators to employ them, during the whole period. You have increased, of late, at home your machinery and production of manufactures, at least ten-fold; and, to crown all, notwithstanding what you say to the contrary, your merchants, agents, and retailers, have been not only unopposed by the local Government, but have had every justice done them, and have had free licence to the uttermost limits of the Empire, to get rid of their fullest supplies. And yet, after all these advantages, openings, and facilities, prepared, as it were, to your very wishes, and actually showered upon you during the undertaking, what has the free-trade at last effected? Lo! it has actually exceeded by a million—one million sterling of exports—what the poor, abused and ever decried East India Company were quietly doing as far back as 1794, when they exported altogether £2,924,829 before they had begun to give up

such trading as a bad business—when they had not half their present means and territory, and when machinery and piece-goods, and the European twisting of cotton thread were scarcely thought of!

And when I consider that nearly one half of your exports to India consisted of articles in the manufacture of which many thousands of my poor countrymen had previously found their principal means of subsistence; and contemplate the state of misery to which these sufferers are thus reduced without a prospect of relief, I cannot join with you in exultation: on the contrary, I must express my regret and my sorrow, that the commercial interest of the empire at large should be supposed to require such a sacrifice from this portion of its faithful and devoted subjects, whose previous condition so little admitted of any subtraction from their scanty resources; and I feel disposed, like many of my suffering countrymen, to question the equity of the course pursued towards us in this partial mode of applying the new principles of freedom of commerce, and to doubt whether we have been dealt fairly with, constituting, as we do, an integral part of the British empire, (and consequently entirely at your disposal,) in being deprived, on the one hand, by the operation of your steam engines and unequal duties, of all the benefits resulting from the fabrication for the English market of piece goods, one of our staple manufactures, and on the other hand, having had left fettered by excessive and disproportionate imposts, the principal

remaining staple products and manufactures of our country, for the purpose of favoring other settlements, whose claims upon the national justice and humanity are assuredly not greater than our own.

Thus this free trade system, instead of being followed out to its full and legitimate extent, on the fair principle of a reciprocity between the mother country and its different dependencies, by which we should obtain whatever advantages our soil, climate, and industry might be calculated to afford us in the general market, is allowed, in our case, to have only a partial and limited operation; being applied in its full force wherever, as in the article of cotton piece goods, the mother country can compete with us herself, and then only by the aid of unequal duties, but departed from where its operation would be advantageous to us, as in the article of sugar, and some other products, for the growth and manufacture of which, on the cheapest terms, our country affords such striking and unquestionable advantages. Surely such exclusion of our products from the home market by excessive duties, is not only contrary to justice and to humanity, but to every sound principle of British policy.

When you with such warm professions of zeal for the welfare of India, and such appearance of anxiety to improve our condition, sit down calmly to dispose of a question of this nature in the manner you have done, and when a large portion of industrious subjects are thrown out of bread, can coolly dismiss the difficulty by scoffing at a “handful

of old women," whom you *feelingly* describe as the only sufferers, pardon me, if I contend that you expose yourself to the imputation of inconsistency and inhumanity, from the stigma of which you would have been best rescued, by advocating the claim of the sufferers and their countrymen on the British people and Parliament to such compensation, at least, as might result to them from a more equitable application of the principles of free commercial intercourse, by the admission into Great Britain of our sugar and other products, at rates of duty not exceeding those levied on the products of your other more highly favored settlements.

But you are apt at calculations, I must quit, therefore, vain attempts at comment, and meet you only with your own weapons. We will, first of all, look to this "handful of old women." In 1827, three millions of lbs. of cotton twist were exported from your country to India. Now, cotton thread, of common and coarse description, sells in Bengal at about 35 to 40 rupees per bazaar maund, therefore its production by hand costs rather more than double the price of the raw material. But if we calculate that a seer, or two pounds of cotton thread, pays to the aged, the weak, or the decrepid, about 5 annas for the task of twisting it, we shall find that the quantity exported in 1827 must have deprived such aged and decrepid of earnings to the amount of half a crore of rupees! When, again, we calculate the number this sum would have fed, of the persons just referred to,—a computation which very little

intimacy with their habits, and few wants, enables us to enter into,—we shall ascertain that at least 25,000\* poor creatures, utterly unfit for agricultural or any other means of support, (notwithstanding the sagacious reasoning which forms the last page of your pamphlet,) are thus deprived of their wonted bread, that the generous advocates of free commerce and the amelioration of India may boast the exclusive merit of having added this to their other articles of trade, while the East India Company (praise be to Brahma for the honour of our rulers!) have forborne to export it!

Another brief calculation will shew that the “old women” are not the only sufferers by your cotton manufactures. It appears, that forty-two millions of yards of white and printed goods were sent out in 1827. With reference to the work of native weavers, and what each man can produce in a year, it will be found, that two lacs at least of these people (200,000 men!) are thrown out of subsistence by such importation. It cannot be asserted, that our countrymen (save only the bankas, servants, and under sircars about Calcutta itself) spend money in consumption of cloth or dress more abundantly than formerly: they are not richer than before, and can only expend, therefore, the limited and customary portion of their means for clothing.

\* The above includes only those despoiled of their livelihood by the introduction of the twist. The still more distressing numbers of such people thrown upon the charity and support of their relations by the piece-goods, form, alas! another sad “handful.”



What they may have gained, too, in seeming finer texture and lowness of price, they lose in want of wear and durability. It is evident, then, that the forty-two millions of yards of English goods must have displaced an equal value of our native cottons; and if we allow a fair quantum of yards for the average yearly clothing of an individual, the consumers of the English article must have amounted in number to about two crores of persons. *For every ten men so clothed, one native weaver must have lost his legitimate and only means of support.\**

I do not advert to the native export trade of calicoes, which has failed in the European, American, and other markets, since the improvement of your machinery: it is true, many additional weavers have lost employment by the operation of this failure also; but we cannot complain here. The Indian weaver has been fairly beaten in foreign marts;—although unjustly and most unfairly in his own.

Your legislators prohibit our sugars, our rum, arrack, silks, and in fact almost every valuable

\* In reply to the query which commences the last paragraph of the pamphlet, let me refer the author, (who, in personal ignorance only of the interior of India, could possibly have asked, where is a weaver thrown out of employ by the British manufactures?) to the following places:—viz. Chundonsy in Rohilcund, Benaris and its vicinity, Ghazeepore, Sidepore, Allahabad, Jaunpore, Azimgurh, Taunda, Fenukabad, Jaunsee, Rancee Mhow in the larger district, part of Behar; in fact, all places, more or less, formerly sending the finer cloths, shirtings, sheetings, sauns, cossahs, mowahs, doputeahs, dotees, and puggerees to the Presidency, &c. Also Luckepore, Daula, districts of Midnapore, Calcutta, and Hoogly, these particularly, as well as the immediate vicinity of Calcutta. I do not speak of Madras or Bombay, having little local acquaintance with those countries.

staple of India, which could give advantage to us in a foreign commerce; and now you would cut up and dispossess us of our domestic trade and internal means of labour and subsistence. The loom is, by the seeming grant of Nature itself, in wise advertence to our climate, our bodily frames and habits, and our capacities, the true and legitimate occupation of the Hindoo; and yet you would force upon us your flimsy, frail, steam-fabricated imitations of our own proper commodities; which you produce only by an over application of the powers of machinery, *such machinery, as far as the free traders of England are concerned, being virtually denied to ourselves.*

And yet the manufacturers and capitalists in England, as we see by its newspapers and periodicals which reach us, are complaining that they are ruined, and that few (none I may say) profit by this immense over production of goods. Their capital engaged returns them but a sorry interest, and the prices they obtain any where are by no means remunerating ones. Now, if such is the case with the principals themselves, who, where steam is employed, can benefit few of your own poorer or labouring classes, and who must increase their machinery and produce itself to monstrous, unheard of, and unwieldy extent, even to prolong or elicit a subsistence for themselves, what in the name of policy, nay of common sense, is the great advantage to England in mercilessly driving and forcing this

cotton trade to India. The mere duties on two millions of goods cannot afford an object; and it admits of argument even, whether these are all gain to your revenue by such exportation, while it is a positive unanswerable fact, that for every anna obtained to the British manufacturer by the introduction of cottons into Hindostan, at least six times that sum must be wrested from the honest labour, industry and scanty earnings of the Hindoo.

This line of argument, and its plain reasoning, are, we well know, met by your scoff and derision. But, if weavers and old women are not to be considered amid the grandeur and general importance of such schemes, I would ask all liberal theorists, all political economists on the grand scale; and, lastly, all emancipationists and free traders,—has it ever occurred to them, that while they are thus driving and forcing an unnatural trade, endeavouring to supply us with clothing which is properly our country's own, would it not be a simpler mode of benefiting us, to send out, the machinery itself? thus permitting us to prepare our own manufactures. We could effect the preparation to our better advantage, and with greater economy, than you; while our abundance of cotton would prevent the necessity of our stinting the goods, as in England, in their due proportion of the material. But such a plan would find few supporters, methinks, among the high-minded benefactors of British India. The very first to oppose it would be the busy orators and loud peti-

tioners from Manchester and Liverpool, for the removal of all restrictions, and every odious monopoly but their own.

I have just ventured, you see, worthy Sir, to question the policy and general estimation of the item of cotton manufactures, which forms, as before stated, HALF of the exports of your trade. I now turn to another topic which would appear to have been beneath your notice—but which is as essential, nevertheless, for the well-being of commerce as even the extent of export—I mean the prices realised. You assert, that the only argument used by your opponents is, that the private merchant is carrying on “a losing trade.” This argument you scout. It is natural, certainly, that free traders should dislike, and caution you against, the public discussion of their losses; for men like to keep up the confident look of success and solvency, even when bankruptcy is nearest at hand. But theorists, like you and myself, my good Sir, should enquire into these matters, if only for a seemly peg on which to hang an argument. To begin then with the cottons, let us see what they have realised for the consigners, for the last ten years—bearing in mind that the prices we shall quote represent the amount of sale at the first hand. With the losses of the native purchasers, or of those who subsequently retail the goods, we, at present, have nothing to do:—

In 1819, cotton goods sold at 25 to 30 per cent. advance: several sales were effected at this rate, though much remained on hand.

In 1820, at one part of the year, 20 per cent. advance was obtained for several investments, and at another season a few sales were effected at 30 per cent. advance.

In 1821, for the greater part of the year, 5 to 10 per cent. advance was the common rate of sale.

In 1822, sales were impracticable but at a discount of 5 per cent. on the prime cost, and the utmost advance was 5 to 10 per cent. at the most favorable portions of the year!

In 1823, the same remarks are applicable; much was sold at prime cost however!

In 1824, more favorable than the preceding; 15 to 20 per cent. advance was procurable.

In 1825, the sales varied from 10 per cent. to 30 per cent. advance.

In 1826, ditto, ditto, from 10 to 20 per cent. advance.

In 1827, 10 to 20 per cent. advance.

In 1828, the sales were somewhat resembling those of 1823, though rather inferior; for no higher average was obtained than 5 per cent. advance, and much went at a sacrifice of 5 per cent. discount.

The above are faithful averages, calculated from Calcutta sales; the actual prices being noted, and the mean thus obtained. It may be computed from this information, that the total, or general average of advance on the whole of the period given could not exceed 13 per cent. Yet even this would be a mere result of figures, by dividing simply the number of years into the total of advance. With

reference to the actual heavy quantities\* sold at low prices, it would be nearer the truth if we assume 8 per cent. advance as the very maximum of average in the ten years! Can the supporters of the cotton trade, after this exposition, dare to assert that the speculations have *paid*? From the scanty profit here exhibited, the English merchant had to pay the Calcutta duties; also agency commission of 5 per cent. on the proceeds, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. additional on the remittance or returns to Europe, if in goods, or 1 per cent. if in bills. Many investments were sold piecemeal at public outcry, thus rendering the commission and charges much heavier. The rupees realised instead of being remittable at par, or at their ancient value of 2s. 6d. during the whole of the period under review, scarcely ever produced in England two shillings. Latterly 1s. 10d. per rupee has been the common rate of exchange. A few successful returns were possibly made, at times, in indigo, drugs, and lac dye, &c. but the best of these gave no general result equal to 2s. 6d. for the rupee. It appears, then, after paying the freight out, insurance, charges, and the Calcutta commission, with loss of interest on capital, lying out of ditto, and risk, prime cost has been barely realised throughout. But why prolong this part of the investigation? Can any man wonder, after these facts, that so few,

\* The heavier the quantity for sale, the more ruinous the price—hence, much more went off at a loss, and at the lower quotations, than at the higher prices occasionally given.

so very few, have reaped advantages from such adventures; or that so many East India speculators have appeared of late years in the London Gazette? Men, indeed, may wonder why speculations should have continued at all, much less increased under such ruinous circumstances; but who shall answer for, or set bounds to, the mania of English speculation? Like the late mining and joint stock companies of every grotesque and preposterous shape, the free trade to India has often gone beyond the character of folly, or mere “deplorable delusion,”—it has been downright frenzy—free-trading madness, fed, urged, and goaded on by interested speculators; or, what is worse by the widely circulated fallacies and crusading exhortations of busy and wrong-minded theorists!

You have adduced the heavy exportations of speltre likewise, as another instance of the advancement of your commerce. Had you contented yourself with taking praise for its introduction, and then been able to prove that the free trade had wisely and cautiously measured the progressive regular supplies by the demand, you might have gained something in your argument by the accession of speltre to the list of exports. But when you are obliged to admit, that, in the five years ending 1827, the English exports of it amounted to 32,553 tons, or an average of more than 6000 tons per annum, and when we know that our consumption cannot even approach that quantity, I can only conclude, as with your cottons, that the extent of exportation

is no symptom of success, but that it betrays another evidence of the madness of your speculations. Let us put it to the same test of annual sales as applied to piece goods, and see whether my present conclusion is a correct one :—

In 1822, speltre sold in Calcutta for 21 to 23 current rupees, per factory maund.

In 1823, 22 to 23 current rupees, per ditto.

In 1824, 16 to 20 ditto, per ditto.

In 1825, 13 to 14 ditto, per ditto.

In 1826, 13 to 14 ditto, per ditto.

In 1827, 9 ditto, per ditto.

In 1828, 7 to 7-9 ditto, per ditto.

At the present juncture, or the early part of 1829, purchasers can hardly be obtained for a portion only of the heavy, overwhelming stock on hand, at even 6-8 current rupees, per factory maund. Thus we discover, that the increase of exportation from England, and the decrease of price in India, have been relatively progressing with a vengeance ! Does not the present glut of the article, and the ruinous discount at which this “most valuable and important of his exports to India,” has been selling of late, tell volumes in favor of what you term the “*management*” of the free trader ?

But to exhibit your whole free commerce at one view, I now subjoin a table or general result of sales in Calcutta of the principal commodities for the last ten years. You, and my other readers in Europe, may now judge for yourselves of the entire *success* of exportations to India.



	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.	1823.	1824.	1825.	1826.	1827.	1828.
Cottons .....	25 to 30 <i>P.C.</i> <i>a</i> 25 to 30 <i>P.C.</i> <i>a</i> 5 to 10 <i>a</i> .	5 <i>d.</i> <i>p.c.</i> & 10 <i>a.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> <i>p.c.</i> 10 <i>a.</i> 15 to 20 <i>a.</i>	10 to 30 <i>a.</i>	10 to 20 <i>a.</i>	10 to 20 <i>a.</i>	10 to 20 <i>a.</i>	10 to 20 <i>a.</i>	10 to 20 <i>a.</i>	10 to 20 <i>a.</i>	5 <i>d.</i> <i>p.c.</i> & 5 <i>a.</i>
Woolens ..	10 <i>P.C.</i> <i>a.</i>	20 to 30	20 to 25 <i>d.</i> & <i>p.c.</i> 15 to 30 <i>d.</i> & <i>p.c.</i> <i>p.c.</i> and 5 <i>a.</i>	5 <i>d.</i> to <i>p.c.</i>	5 <i>d.</i> to <i>p.c.</i>	5 <i>d.</i> to <i>p.c.</i>	5 <i>d.</i> to <i>p.c.</i>	5 <i>d.</i> to <i>p.c.</i>	5 <i>d.</i> to <i>p.c.</i>	..
Iron Swedish ..	6 to 7 <i>P.f.m.</i> 6 to 7 <i>P.f.m.</i> 4 to 5 10	5 3 to 5 8	5 to 6 7	6 to 7	6 to 7	6 to 7	6 to 7	6 to 7	6 to 7	6 to 7
Ditto British ..	3 14 to 4 2 3 14 to 4 2	3 10 to 3 12	3 8 to 4 2	3 to 4	3 to 4 and 6	5 6	4 6	5 to 5 4	3 to 4	10 to 19
Steel .....	8 to 8 12 7 12 to 8	7	5 to 7 and 8	6 to 7 8	6 4 to 7 8 & 15 6 to 9 10	9 13	10	10 to 19	10 to 19	10 to 19
Copper Sheet ..	4 1	44 to 45	43 to 43 & 40 36 39 and 42	38 to 46 & 50 40 to 42 & 45 42 to 50	60 to 62	43 to 53	44 to 46	44 to 46	44 to 46	44 to 46
Tin Plates ..	20 <i>P</i> box.	21 <i>P</i> box.	16 to 17	24 to 25	21 to 26 & 28 21 29 and 30	24 to 27 & 29 23 to 24	22 8 to 23	22 to 23	22 to 23	22 to 23
Lead .....	7 to 7 10 <i>P.f.m.</i> 7 to 7 4	6 1 to 6 2	6 8 and 11 8*	7 to 8 and 9	7 to 8 4 & 9	11 to 13 & 16 10	9 to 11	6 to 7 12 & 8	6 to 7 12 & 8	6 to 7 12 & 8
Spelter ....	"	"	"	21 to 23	22 to 23 12	16 to 20 & 21 13 to 14	13 to 14	9	7 to 7 9	7 to 7 9
Coals .....	7 <i>P</i> <i>baz.</i> <i>mol.</i> 1 4 to 1 8	1 12 to 2	12 to 1 4 & 1 8 13 to 1 6 1 2 1 to 1 2 & 1 12 1 8 to 1 9 & 2 1 12 to 2	9 to 10	12 to 12 4	11 to 12 4	16 to 21 & 22 20 to 24	18 to 22 & 23 18 to 19	12	12 to 14 & 15

\* The Burmah war made a sudden temporary call for metals, &c., as here seen. The increase in 1828 is simply from an adventurous cause as regards steel.  
 † A very small quantity of lead at 11 s. 8. in 1822.  
 ‡ 1829, the present year, 6 s. 3.

*Nota Bene*—It must be borne in mind that this table is founded on sales at the first hand; on wholesale investments, on their immediate importation. Much loss was often sustained after those transactions by the native purchasers and retailers. The sale at first hand and the after disposal of the commodity to consumers are widely different. It is notorious, that the new and old china bazaars, and the burra bazaar, have exhibited very few instances of profitable business of late, while the sacrifice and ruin, like those of 1818, have been frequent and extensive.

Woollens, it will be seen by the foregoing statement of the trade for the last ten years, have not exhibited even a moderate return for above one-third of the period ; while, in 1822, they were actually selling at 20 per cent. loss, and in the years 1823, 1824, and 1825, could not realize their prime cost.

Iron, both Swedish and English, of which much has been sent to us, barely obtained covering prices, even during the temporary and brief demand of the Ava war. At other times, the 6 or 7 rupees per factory maund obtained for the former, and 3 rupees 12 as. for the latter, must have been bad, indeed. If we look to the article of copper, we shall find that the war alone occasioned any thing like proper sales of it ; and even the heavy employment of transport shipping did comparatively little for the advancement of sheathing. With reference to the prime cost of this and other articles, and the freight, insurance, and other charges, it is apparent that neither copper, tin plates, white lead, nor coals, could have effected any thing towards the success of the trade.

After this plain statement of facts, of which a reference to any respectable house of business at Calcutta, or to the common printed prices-current themselves, will establish the accuracy—I appeal to you, Sir, whether your boast, that the free trade has beaten its competitors (as you are facetiously pleased to designate the East India Company) from the field of extended exportation, avail you to the extent

you fondly imagined, when you adduced your triumphant statements of the increased trade of the private merchant, and the diminished exports of the Company?—Pray, Sir, for what were the authorities of Leadenhall-street to *compete*?—For the *high* prices obtainable in India?—Were they, after the happy results effected by your cottons, to strain every effort, and charter new ships with calicoes and chintzes?—Were they to quadruple their investments of woollens, while your free-trader, to use a happy, though homely, saying of your country, was “putting his foot in it?” It is not for one like me to pry into the secret doings of the curtained haram and retirement of the great Begum\* of Leadenhall-street; but methinks I could well picture to myself, if I dare, that honourable and most ancient lady sitting amid her hallowed haunts in your city, smiling and chuckling away at the frantic gambols of her free-trading opponents! No wonder, too, her sagacious old ladyship lessened her outward consignments to India, when she learned that her busy friends in the East were then supplying her own military, and other wants on the spot, at 25 per cent. cheaper than her purchasing Committee of Leadenhall-street could lay them in at, even in Europe. She saw English sea-coal for the ac-

\* It must be known to my readers, that many of the natives of India have an idea that the honourable the East India Company is nothing more or less than an august *old lady*—a Begum, of vast consequence and rank in Great Britain!

commodation of her arsenals and founderies, kindly delivered to her, at Calcutta, by the gentlemen of the free trade, at six and seven annas per maund! Pig-lead, too, in any quantity, for the bullets of her brave sepoy, at half its positive value, and former current price. She saw the best and finest purpets, handed over to her at so inviting a rate, that many of her gun and howitzer cartridge-bags, during the Burmese operations, were positively made therefrom! Her hospitals, from the farthest banks of the Sutlege to the swamps of Arracan, were completely supplied with the finest British flannels. Cordage, canvas, and metals, were vociferously screaming—"come buy me," from every over-crammed and unhappy go-down in the whole Burra Bazaar; and, still farther, to please and propitiate her old ladyship—her mansions and public offices of the City of Palaces, were new fitted and painted—and the venetians, and casements, and wood work of her fortresses made to look gay and smiling, by the paints and white lead, *our bhee eyza sub-cheese*,\* which were wildly lavished on her in India, by the free-trader, at almost half the amount of their London prime cost.

But, to be serious for a few moments—was the East India Company, a public, grave, and responsible body, to compete, under such circumstances as I have shewn, with the ill-advised and badly-ima-

\* Sic omnia.—Printer's Devil.

gined and worse-conducted enterprises of mere speculating adventurers? Was it to run a race with those people, in their essayings and mad aspirations after bankruptcy and ruin? The thing speaks for itself.

It has been the fashion with yourself, and most of the patrons of the free trade, to abuse the East India Company for the great facilities that its charter affords to foreigners, and particularly to the Americans; while you assert, that it fetters or excludes the capital, industry, and enterprise of your own countrymen. You affirm, that while Englishmen are thus injured, the Americans are gradually increasing their commercial importance in the East; are the carriers of your goods, and, in fact, are fast circumventing the honourable Company, not only within the limits of the charter, but to the eastward, and in the hallowed mart of China itself. Having been, for some years, connected with American shipping, and two of my nephews being at this moment banians to certain of their worthy captains, I am happy that my personal information enables me, most decidedly, to put you right; and to prove that the clear-sightedness and shrewdness of Jonathan, as I hear you call him, soon “*guessed*” that the Indian trade was no fit enterprise for him.

In 1816, the Americans traded largely from India, and their cargoes which they laid in from Calcutta alone cost them about sixty lacs of rupees. In 1818, they still farther traded, and exported goods

from this port; and it is within truth that their purchases in Bengal were not less than seventy lacs. But they soon began to find their mistake, and, with a wariness and discretion, which your London merchants would do well to imitate, they at once refrained from pushing the trade. The very next year, they decreased its extent from seventy lacs to forty-five; and gradually diminishing it, in 1824 they concluded purchases here to little more than twelve lacs, and last year they were actually below seven;—in ten short seasons, falling off from seventy lacs to a petty tenth of their former trade!

With regard to your assertion that the Americans are carrying on a most successful and profitable tea trade in Europe, and are enabling the tea drinkers on the continent to enjoy such beverage at half the price that the middling and lower communities in England are obliged, by the Company, to pay for this now absolute necessary of life; I think, I can prove here, also, from the means of information with which my Trans-atlantic friends have furnished me,—that the Americans have not only made nothing of such tea trade, but are actually backing out of it as fast as they can. Several of the United States, which were, formerly, deeply concerned in the Indian and China trade, have entirely seceded from the speculation, and have not, at present, a single ton employed in it. Nine years before the expiration of the last charter, it is

an ascertained fact, that the Americans purchased, in Canton, to the extent of nearly twelve millions of pounds weight of tea. But in 1826-7, the last year regarding which I can obtain any complete information, their purchases were only eight and a-half millions of pounds, the whole of which quantity was destined for America itself, excepting only 358,000 pounds for the consumption of all foreign Europe. There has been, of late, a remarkable falling-off in their exportation of tea to Europe. At the commencement of the charter, they used to make, at Canton, annual investments containing cargoes of nearly three millions of pounds weight, for the foreign European market alone; while, during the last eight or ten years, they diminished the quantity by one-half; and in 1826-7, as I have before mentioned, they only carried the small investment of 358,000 pounds. This statement of facts, which no reasoning or casuistry can affect, will explain that, at all events, the Americans do not find their supply of continental Europe a profitable one; and I have further been assured, by my American informants, that the only places on the continent, where teas (with reference, always, to the British Government duty of 100 per cent. on the teas of your country) sell cheaper than those of the East-India Company, are the Hanse Towns, Netherlands, and part of France. This last circumstance is thus accounted for:—the Americans having over-traded, generally, at the Hanse Town's

markets, had no means of sending investments of any kind to meet their trade there, save only in the article of tea. Thus, they completely glutted and overstocked the markets, and tea became a mere valueless article, not only at the Hanse Towns themselves, but in the entire vicinity of their commercial influence and connection. Holland and its adjacent countries are now in a state of ruinous over-supply, to the enormous loss of the Dutch Trading Company, as well as the Americans themselves. The teas, whose prime cost in China was a quarter of a Spanish dollar per pound, are actually for sale at Hamburgh, and the Netherlands, for little more than half a franc—the best teas, undistinguished from, and confounded with the worst, so overwhelming, and complete the glutted state of the market. But it appears that black tea, equal in quality to that which forms the bulk of the consumption of Great Britain, seldom appears in the continental markets at all, and which tea may be obtained at your Company's sales in Leadenhall-street at prices varying from 2s. to 3s. per pound; and I think myself justified in stating, that no teas so well harvested, and so well manufactured, and possessing such uniform soundness, are purchased in China; and that, taking a fair average of years, no teas are sold cheaper than those imported into England by your East India Company.\*

\* It is singular, that Parliamentary Reports, which were published in



Having endeavoured to establish, that the free trade, in its late operations with India, has been any thing but successful; and that the asserted increase in the British exports, consisting principally of cotton goods and speltre, has been no proof, either of advantage or proper management;—having shewn that the Americans have nearly relinquished their portion of it, upon a wise conviction of its inutility and fruitlessness,—I will next endeavour to explain why the result could scarcely have been otherwise—and that the present failure is only what every man, well acquainted with the subject, must have calculated upon. Although the evidence adduced before Parliament in 1813-14 may not, in every particular, have been confirmed by the result, and although the unchangeable habits of my countrymen may have been too unconditionally stated on that occasion, yet it may be safely asserted, after fifteen years trial of free trade, that nothing has occurred materially to weaken the evidence then brought forward.

Let me distinctly repel any attempt to saddle any portion of the failure of that trade on the East India Company. You may write pamphlets, declaratory of the fetters, impediments, hostile feeling, and ceaseless opposition, which the free trade has experienced from the Company and its covenanted

England this summer, completely substantiate the view of the American and foreign tea trade, adopted by our native author; the reader should refer to them.—*Note by the Printer.*

servants; but the thing is ridiculous:—the free trade has had every facility needful to ensure it the fairest chance; it has failed only in itself, and by its own hand. You are famous, however, for saddling the India Company, and the local Government, with all that appears to be wrong, either in their system or your own; while no portion of their legislation or Government, which may have worked well, even on your own admission, is allowed, by you, to reflect on them the slightest credit.\* Your whole publication is mixed up with taunts, accusations, and idle invectives, against those you are *now* pleased to oppose. Nothing of good can ori-

\* It is not many years since one of your late statesmen amused the Parliament, by the history of a man who pertinaciously claimed that all was “his Thunder!”—Thus, every good in India is, at present, the “Thunder” alone of the free trade. It takes credit even for the success of the Indigo planter, with which it had, originally, as little to do, as it had with the late Mexican produce. The improved cultivation of Indigo commenced, nearly fifty years ago, under the sanction and license of the Indian Government, long before India had heard of the free trader. Its improvement in quality, its increase in quantity, and advance of price in Bengal, would equally have resulted from the demand in Europe; and the necessity of finding a means of remittance for the funds of the Company, as well as the savings of its servants,—if not a single bale of cotton goods had reached us from Manchester. The free trader, in taking credit for Indigo, is somewhat like ourselves of the East, who, also, never let pass an opportunity of honouring ourselves for other men’s deeds. Thus, the Persians claim Alexander the Great as a discarded child of their great Darud; and manfully deny that he is a Macedonian at all. Thus, we claim Mahomed as the accidental offspring of a holy Bramin; and even appropriate to ourselves the Mahomedan Akbar, whom we prove to have been the regenerated spirit of an aspiring Hindoo, who voluntarily died, that his soul might enter the earthly frame of an infant Emperor!

ginate with them; they have erred, you would make out, from their very first illegitimate birth in good Queen Elizabeth's virgin time, up to the present portentous era of free trade and political economy. Thus, they have blundered and bungled on, from step to step, into the lamentable, undisturbed possession of one of the largest and finest empires of the universe; their very pre-eminence in the East—the quiet peacefulness of their subjects—the unobtrusive and simple machinery of their local governments—the silently progressive amelioration of the population committed to their charge—and the extensive diffusion of education and useful knowledge—the numerous institutions for the sick, the indigent, and the uninformed, embracing every class, Hindoo or Mussulman—their delicacy towards ourselves, (more, I may venture to say, than they exhibit toward their own European servants, civil or military) and scrupulous regard for the protection of the lands, religion, ordinances, and feelings, of the millions they govern—nay, the very state itself of the government, which obtains loans from us at half the interest for which the traders of Calcutta can procure money;\* these and every other just and honourable characteristic of our present rulers, are

\* “ During the Burmese war, the East India Company borrowed money at 5 per cent; while the most respectable merchants and agents of Calcutta were paying 10.”—Page 55, of “ *Free Trade and Colonization*.” Unhappy Company! Insecure Government!

misrepresented, vilified, and decried. If cotton is too short in its fibre for the present machinery of your manufactories, although such cotton is otherwise excellent, and, in fact, generally brought from Central or North Western India, where the Company, till of late years, could have had no agricultural controul; nay, its very introduction to our provinces being effected through the agency of your own free traders at Mirzapore, Futtyghur, &c.—the Indian Government is blamed for the failure.\* If the cotton is uncleaned, mainly through the inatten-

\* Much has been written by you regarding cotton; the inferiority, as you assert, of the Indian produce, forms a lengthy and favourite argument of yours. You arraign the Company, because it does not grow a better quality, and that it does not magically controul the manufacturers in England, and that it does not constrain them to use their own material, instead of the American. Nay, the Company alone are to blame, that the profitable employment, also, of 81,297 extra tons of shipping, in carrying cotton, has fallen to your Trans-atlantic competitors, instead of the free trade. In reply to all this, I simply state, that the East India cotton is not only not inferior, and not coarse—but, that it is “the best in the world.” (Vide Mills’s British India, and every book of reference on the subject.) That it is “dirty,” is the fault alone of the free trade: for its original collection and transportation “is the work of a few scattered Europeans, living in India on sufferance, and in open opposition to the principle of the monopoly,” as you, yourself, are pleased to declare: but, as for its original growth, preparation for export, or eventual application in your manufactures—the Company have as little to do in the matter as the present Great Mogul. It grows chiefly in a country where, until well in these very few years, the Company had no political rule; it is then removed into our provinces, through the agency of commercial gentlemen at Agra, Futtyghur, Mirzapore, &c. but chiefly Mirzapore, through the Rewah Country. The D. T. cotton was, for years, well known in Europe; but the attempts to clean or press the material, at Mirzapore, were scanty enough; in fact, little or no pains were taken with it; and never was monopolizing power or influence

tion and lordly mode of business of the up-country agents, the Company is to be stigmatized for the neglect. If a few private gentlemen of Calcutta inertly and languidly cultivate coffee to a trifling extent only, the local government is arraigned for the scantiness of the supply, and for their want of regal support and official participation in the trade.\* If the English nation reject our sugars, the authorities of India are vilified for what is our misfortune.† If the Company leave the produce of India to its own resources, and do not interfere, or themselves engage in the manufacture or exportation, they are decried as incompetent rulers, or unfit patrons of the soil ;

more arbitrarily exerted or abused, than in the instance of this D. T. cotton of Mirzapore. Any rival competition on the spot was instantly put down ; and instead of the influence which might have forwarded the proper and careful cleaning of the material having been so applied, extent of speculation, and extermination of all rivalry, were the leading features of this cotton establishment of the free trade. On cotton reaching Calcutta, the bales are cursorily opened, cleaned, and re-pressed, by the agents there—and, by them, generally, consigned either to China or Europe.

That the fibre of the Indian cotton is peculiarly fine, may be proved by the inimitable delicacy of the fine *Dacca muslin* ; but that it is not approved of in England, may be ascribed to its shortness of staple, which would occasion an expensive alteration and adaptation of the machinery. The English manufacturers, also, prefer the American supply, from its regularity in reaching them, and the quantity always available. Yet from the fact that, of late, four-fifths of the Indian cotton have been re-exported from Great Britain into Germany, where they prefer it for their less extensive manufactories, and can produce with it superior cloths, we may safely infer that adventitious circumstances alone, as explained, have prevented its use and regular demand, at the English manufacturing towns also.

\* Vide pages 37 and 38 of "View on Free Trade," &c.

† Vide page 29, &c. of "View on Free Trade," &c.

but if, as with Indigo, they come into the market (to the great benefit of the English planters) to remit home the means of paying for the military stores, they are abused for entering “into competition with the private dealers or purchasers :” \* in a word, there is not a subject (cha-moo-cha, as we natives have it) from which you do not extract something, right or wrong, to libel and abuse your opponents. And then, you gravely and ludicrously enough hold up the free trade, that is—the self-interests, bungling transactions, and mercenary aspirations of a host of restless speculators of London, Liverpool, Leeds, and Glasgow, as the grand specific—the one thing needful for the amelioration and proper government of British India !

While adverting to this portion of my subject, let me disclaim, once for all, any desire to be considered the mere advocate of the Company. With well-informed, disinterested, and thinking persons, they can well let their case rest on its own intrinsic merits, and can readily dispense with advocacy such as mine. For myself, I am neither a blind admirer of “the powers that be,” or a servile supporter of systems, simply because they are in existence. That something may still be done for British India by your country, when it takes up the discussion of the renewal of charter, is admitted, I should think, by the staunchest friend of the Company.

\* Vide page 23, &c. of “View on Free Trade,” &c.

Systems of government, however, to be useful, must be adapted to the condition of the people for whom they are intended. No change, however theoretically excellent, ought to be made without strong evidence of its fitness. And much experience and much wisdom must be brought to the arduous task of legislating advantageously, or even safely, on subjects involving the important consideration of what are the best means of producing to England and to British India the greatest quantity of good, with the least possible risk of endangering, by a change, the good already secured by the existing institutions.

No one acquainted with our ancient history and government, can deny, that, however many of us may complain of the loss of dignities and immunities formerly, but precariously, possessed, the mass of our people have derived many substantial advantages from British connexion, which has not only rescued us from the numerous evils which we suffered, under our native rule, but has gradually led to our incorporation as a part of the British empire, to the diffusion of literature among us, the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences, and the benefit of equal laws, and a distribution of justice similar to that enjoyed by the parent State.

With these sentiments, and with those of a faithful attachment, which our conduct has always displayed, we protest against any rash dislocation of

the present connexion and form of government; or, if some change be requisite, let it be effected with such modifications only as may appear to the enlightened authorities, here and in England, best calculated to strengthen and consolidate the connexion; and, by a fair adjustment of the reciprocal rights of the parent and the subject State, render Hindostan an increasing source of honour, wealth, and power to the British nation. And, with this view, we would earnestly solicit the fostering care and encouragement of our industry by a more equitable protection to the produce of our soil; an extended diffusion among us of moral and intellectual instruction, and a greater degree of consideration and rank to native worth and talent. But, in mercy's sake, I would entreat those who have to legislate for us, not to discard what is good and great of the present government, to make way for the crude speculative notions of ignorant declaimers. I would beseech them not to take up their fallacious reasoning as the data on which to ground the intended improvements. If we are not found to be doing so well now, as they could wish—let us be better, if practicable; but let every attempt at re-modelling be made calmly and dispassionately. Weigh seriously every proposed change or experimental re-organization of system; but, above all, let not the free-traders or their views decide for us. Our fields—our institutions—our very being with them, would have to give way to the mere enhancement and better sale of a bale of



piece-goods; and every consideration in the government of our millions be made to yield to the one eternal idea of increasing the annual list of exports!

In thus adverting to the unreasonable views of the free-trader, let me not be supposed to undervalue trade itself, or lose sight of what must be of paramount importance with your statesmen, when legislating for India; namely, that it may prove a vent for many of your goods and manufactures. I willingly concede, that an increased demand on our part for your commodities, the peculiar produce of your skill and intelligence, would be a strong evidence of our own improving means and civilization. It will, indeed, be a happy era for India, when it can greatly increase its present scanty consumption of your metals, your woollens, your hardware, cutlery, and such fitting exportations, from your country; and there are even *portions* of your cotton manufactures which might be continued to our advantage. And to prove that it is not in mere sweeping opposition to all increase of British intercourse with India, that I have so decidedly reprobated the late cotton-goods transactions of the free-trader, it is my intention, before closing this Letter, to explain what I conceive may be a practical method of fostering and increasing our demand generally for European articles. But many years must elapse ere our habits, and our means, can admit of so desirable a change; and, in the mean time, let us entreat that your manufactures be not prematurely forced

on us to our ruin, or to the certain annihilation of our domestic trade, and of our own legitimate production of goods. Improve our capabilities, without destroying what we now possess, and you will ultimately increase our wants and thereby render us more useful to yourselves. Teach us to aid and support you in what may be mutually beneficial ; but do not, at the immediate and grasping call of the opponents of the Company, mercilessly reduce us to the condition of Helots, or the mere growers of materials for the Manchester machinery.

I must solicit pardon for this digression, and revert to my explanation of the causes of the failure of your free-trade. The main cause, of course, of the failure of Indo-European trade, is our want of *returns*. They have been called for beyond a profitable limit. Even the remittances of private families are suffering twenty-five per cent. loss in consequence ; and the rupee, since the new charter, has fallen from 2s. 6d. to 1s. 10d. Our staple and best commodities are prohibited and rejected by England ; and, without a sale for them, we are not sufficiently wealthy to buy your goods. This, however, is a general question ; and I am now only to describe what, after this grand cause, more particularly affects the free-trader himself. First, then, I must adduce the ignorance betrayed from the first, and which attained little improvement in the sequel, in almost every selection by him of goods for India. Among the early exporta-

tions, as might naturally be expected, were many useless articles;—but this was not all; many of the investments were intrinsically bad, and so inferior were the goods from the English out-ports, that, instead of increasing among the native community the respect for European produce, it is notorious that there was a bad feeling engendered against the new trade itself, and it became a common proverbial exclamation throughout the Bazaar, on the discovery of inferior articles, “Yih cheese *Europe* nuheen hy, yih *Niverpool* hy!”—“This is not an European article, but a Liverpool one!” Even in the necessaries for the consumption of English gentlemen, the same deterioration of quality was visible, and it seemed, with your shippers, that any and every thing would do for our market. Some of your Liverpool speculators have paid the penalty for this; but in time, when experience began to instil some better knowledge of our market, and attempts were made to suit the description to the demand, the fact is scarcely credible—how much these attempts were rendered abortive by the lavish over-abundance of every article selected. There was not an opening for an assortment—not the faintest glimmering of demand for a particular commodity, but the earliest possible ships brought out overladen entire cargoes of the individual article. Vessel after vessel then kept pouring in the supply, till breathless advices from India checked and countermanded the folly, and gave intimation of some

fresh demand and newly-asserted scarcity, so that the same overwhelming and lavish game might soon be played afresh, with a new commodity. Thus speltre was introduced, and having paid well at first, the madness of competition and speculation sent out ten times as much as the outside possible consumption of the whole Asiatic continent. Thus it was with the coarse red woollen and inferior cloths, which were beginning to find a mart. Thus it was with the maddapollams and every description of the imitated native cotton goods. It may reasonably be asked, what were the English factors and agents in India about, that they permitted their employers and correspondents thus to fall into error? But the fault was not wholly theirs. They could not hint at the chance of an expected sale, without this ceaseless inundation of supply from home. Yet, again, it must be confessed the mode itself of European business among these gentlemen, is so loose and unsatisfactory, that I have often asked myself where is the activity, skill, and intelligence, with which your writers have invested the participators of the free-trade. In the first place, not five out of twenty employed can converse in the language of the people they deal with. As few of them know the extent of a few miles beyond the precincts of Calcutta, or the presidency they have settled in. They are utterly ignorant of the history, habits, policy, customs, wants and character of the nations they have resorted to; nor

do they, on these points, take the slightest pains to obtain information. Their very mode of effecting sales would be scouted in any other mercantile sphere. A ship arrives, the invoices and advices reach by post; the agent, now, instead of personally acting as the salesman, places these invoices in the hands of his native Banian or Sircar, who takes them round the native market, or pretends to do so, and then returns to his employer, with an asserted appraisement of their value and reported capability of sale. The price currents prepared at some printing establishment, from information promiscuously obtained, are referred to by the agent; and if the price stated by the Banian, or offer made, tally with these printed quotations, or the chance information which the agent obtains, through the medium, still, of his Banian and Sircar, the thing is disposed of! There is scarcely ever a meeting of principals in the transaction. The English merchant is seated coolly under his punkah; and as for the state of the native Bazaar, or the people composing it, or the modes of business within it, or the means of personally conducting a sale with the *bonâ fide* final native purchaser and retailer, our said English free trader is as ignorant as the poor weaver at your looms in Manchester or Leeds. The native Sircar has his *dustoorree* or brokerage out of these transactions; men of straw are brought forward as the buyers,—the Sircar being responsible, it matters not to his principal; and

who can tell the hands the goods pass through, or what the true and ultimate result of the sale? Whether all this can be attended with benefit to the speculator in England, we leave him to judge. The accounts and advices he receives are perfectly correct and just, to the best knowledge and judgment of his agent; but the affair was scarcely in the hands of the latter, and his ignorance of details is ever purposely perpetuated by his native underling; the Englishman, in one word, being the mere tool and recorder of the accounts and transactions rendered by his Baboo.

In describing here the transactions of the Calcutta agents of the English free trade, I do not mean to be disrespectful to a very respectable and honourable body of men. For although I by no means would assert, that they are equal in intelligence, or general talent, to the higher class of the merchants and agents of this metropolis, (who, I before stated, are little commingled with these piece-good transactions) yet, individually considered, no persons can be more worthy or estimable. I must confess, however, I have entered into the explanation in question, more particularly, that I may faithfully exhibit the class whom you are now pleased to place in eternal opposition to, and most invidious comparison with, the covenanted servants and constituted authorities of the country.\*

And now we will quit the free trader in his

\* One would almost fancy, that the author of Free Trade and Coloniza

speculations, for the consideration of his proposed settlement and colonization amongst us, which is the next subject of your pamphlet. But, beforehand, let me briefly recapitulate the points I have assumed, in opposition to your view of the trade since 1814. First, then, I think I have shewn, that the *extent* of speculation is not a proof of success; that the trade has been a losing one; and that the extent itself of four millions in 1827, *of which two millions were cotton goods*, is no mighty result, when the Company, as far back as 1794, exported three millions of goods before cottons were thought of. I have shewn, that the Company have been wise, to secede from the trade; that foreigners and Americans have done the same; that the free trade itself has been a series of over-speculation and mismanagement; and that, when you “advert to its progress,” to contrast it with the general government of the Company, the position you assume (and on which, by the way, you ground every argument

tion had some secret cause of enmity and grudge against the servants of the Company. He describes them as “flights of raw aspirants for place and power, poured annually by the East India Company into India.”—“A perennial stream of youthful strangers, at the most indiscreet and imprudent age; these strangers, too, tax-gatherers or task-masters.” Surely, some of these tax-gatherers or task-masters must have crossed *the author in certain of his own aspirations for place and power!* Whatever the cause, however, of such acrimony, never, perhaps, were any body of men in the known world less open to the application of such libellous, poor stuff, and downright “twaddle,” than the Civil Service of India. And the train of reasoning, too, (vide page 60) in which these passages appear! The “prudence, forbearance, and conciliation of the merchants and traders.”

in your whole publication) is untenable and purely ridiculous.

What you have advanced regarding colonization, I must candidly state, that I cannot comprehend. After loudly advocating, in the first instance, colonization in its most sweeping and comprehensive sense, as the chief remedy for all the pretended evils you have pointed out; after adducing the examples of the Mahomedan conquerors of India, of the Tartars in China, the Turks in Europe and Western Asia, the Russians in their extensive provinces, and the Romans in your own country, to prove that the indiscriminate settlement, occupation of lands, colonization of the conquerors, and entire subversion of the institutions, customs, and, in some cases, religion of the conquered, is the only way to improve ourselves;—after dilating upon our inherent weakness, our passive submission, and unfitness to turn round and sting our oppressors, to lead your countrymen to a belief that, they may do with us as they please; you, at last, absolutely come to an admission, that the “*colonization* of India is impracticable.” Ample room, however, for *settlement* among us, you still seem to discover. True—*labour* you declare to be also impracticable; but settlement is your grand specific, and this, in your interpretation, implies, I at last learn, the lordly proprietorship of our extensive property, the direction and control, for your profit, of our mechanics and day-labourers; while we, like



the present native cultivators of indigo, may receive the glorious benefit of a bare and simple subsistence, by growing acceptable produce for you, in order that your planters, agriculturists and settlers on a grand scale, may derive the exclusive profit; and that such profit may, like their wealth, be ultimately conveyed, as soon as accumulated, to your own country.

I may still be wrong in the above conception of your plan; for, immediately after declaring, in one part of your view, that “there is no room for colonization,—at least for European colonization,” you seem to think, in exception to this conclusion, that the rich vallies of the snowy range would, for room, temperature, and salubrity, admit the gradual settlement of English colonies; while the hot, alluvial plains of the Ganges, with their present population, rich cultivation and fertile soil, would scarcely permit the introduction of strangers. If from this is to be gathered, that you only propose that England shall send forth her surplus population, “her capitalists, and the better order of mechanics,” to redeem and cultivate our frontier wastes, our mountain fastnesses, the depths, jungles, and wilds that at present lie neglected and almost untrodden, from the banks of the Sutledge down to the woods of Arracan, with the several tracts uninhabited in Central India and the Peninsula,—why, I readily admit, your plan is kind and great! But still, I apprehend, the course of benefit to Europe, or to the mag-

unanimous settlers themselves, would be very slow and very gradual. To use your own words—" *we say gradual, because, from distance and expense, there is obviously no other means of introducing it!*" This would be a consideration for yourselves, however; as for us, we might well look on in silent admiration! Nay, if some of your countrymen would then also hasten to teach us their arts, trades, and callings, so that their example and domiciliation among us might render us fit copiers and friendly rivals of their mechanical talents and success, the blessing would be more complete. But it is to be feared, the philanthropy of yourself, and other writers and orators on this topic, would not be duly appreciated by your countrymen, who are to give effect to it. Say, would the settlers admire the "gradual" returns which their personal toil, and participation in the sweat of our brow, would alone put them in possession of? Would the artizan and mechanic approve the wearisome and tedious road to success, in which any numerous introduction of their classes would necessarily oblige each individual to toil? But is it not idle to protract this theoretical and speculative day-dreaming, for the supposed amelioration of India? To all theorists who would recommend Europeans to quit their own soil, and crowd hither to enact the part of settlers, and trading tutors to the millions of the East, I would point out one simple, one insurmountable objection—*climate*.

Settlement, in my view of the term, must imply, as I believe it means in every country of the globe where the introduction of settlers has conferred benefit, the permanent adoption of the new soil for a home, the personal agricultural improvement by the settlers of that soil,—family ties, and entire domiciliation in the new country. If your colonization or settlement does not go to this length; if India is to be no *home* for your countrymen; if you cannot participate in our labours; if there can exist no common bond of permanent interest between us,—what will your plan effect, if it succeed at all, but an extended and overwhelming creation of absentee superiors, absorbing proprietors, and lordly task-masters?

There is much reason for believing that many of your countrymen, not being well informed regarding India, but influenced by its supposed analogy with other countries differently circumstanced, allow themselves to be misled regarding its fitness for colonization or settlement; otherwise a moment's consideration, it might be thought, would enable them to perceive that it is quite unsuited to these purposes. In the Americas, and those other comparatively newly-discovered countries, where an outlet has been, and still continues to be, afforded for the surplus population and capital of Great Britain, land is abundant in proportion to the number of inhabitants, and may be obtained by new settlers, for little beyond the price of the

labour employed in cultivating it; so that capital and labour, being in great demand, find an immediate and profitable return.

India, on the contrary, a country possessing the greatest antiquity, where the land has long been fully appropriated and cultivated by a comparatively large population, and where the wages of labour are, consequently, so low, as scarcely to afford to the cultivator any thing beyond the moderate supply of his very simple wants, does not afford a field for the employment of foreign industry or capital. It would neither be suitable for Englishmen seeking the means of repairing their fortunes, broken up or impaired by the wild speculations of 1825-6, nor would it furnish a proper outlet for your surplus population, or employment for your distressed agriculturists and manufacturers. Distinguished, therefore, as the modern race of Englishmen are said to be in the annals of credulity, and easily misled by the designing and the enthusiastic, I hope they will not be allowed to quit their homes, and, foregoing other and better openings for their industry and enterprize, be induced to come to India under the unpropitious circumstances that would assuredly await them.

I agree with you, there are insulated spots near the snowy range, and some few of the table lands of our mountains, where your adventurers might be acclimated; but, like the Avatars, or your own angel's visits, these spots are few, and, indeed, far

between! Would the occupation of such Tadmors in the Wilderness effect your general plan of colonization and improvement? In other portions of this vast empire, it is evident the English could have no ties, of a lasting nature, to bind them: their personal objects and attachments would not repose here; but point ever, as with the Europeans of the present day, to one fond desired resting-place—their distant native home. Thus, like the tenant of an estate at will, or the chance holder of the few expiring months of a lease, they could have no proper care or regard, for the site itself of their casual brief residence. Such occasional European residence among us, would greatly aggravate our present evils, without affording us any compensating advantages. All our labour would be put in motion, in the various operations in which it might suit the European to direct it, for his own sole benefit, and to enable him, as speedily as possible, to quit for ever the scene of his speculations. Our lands and our country would be the mere field of foreign, unchecked, and promiscuous enterprise; and as little regarded as an object of permanent interest, as the ship itself, that enabled the adventurer to pass to this land, or escape again from its temporary exile\*.

\* It is true, these objections apply, in part, to the present system; but it is to be remembered, that now we have a body of men permanently responsible, paid at fixed scales of remuneration for duties performed towards ourselves, and whose advancement depends on their adherence to known and

It should be borne in mind, that, hitherto, your countrymen, of whom there is surely no scarcity in the vicinity of either of the three Presidencies, have not entirely succeeded in establishing their own trades in India, although they are not molested or thwarted by the local authorities, and, in several instances, are afforded considerable encouragement; witness the shipwrights' establishments, founderies, tanneries, canvas manufactories, &c. Now, although at Bombay the Parsees have become expert shipbuilders after your model, yet, generally speaking, your trades have neither met with, in themselves, any considerable degree of success, nor have they benefited, to any promising extent, the natives by their example.\* Our rich countrymen

defined rules. In any extended introduction of strangers, whose object would be only to amass wealth in their own way, they would be bound by the laws certainly, but self-interest and personal gain must prove the immediate standard of conduct with all.

\* A buff-leather manufactory was attempted, and failed; a linseed oil establishment shared the same fate. The canvas trade was trusted by the English manufacturers to natives, and the European superintendence of it became almost nominal. The free trade itself ruined the English cloth factories at Luckipore, Dacca, Gazipore, &c. &c. Some of the most influential, intelligent and wealthy of the merchants entered, under every encouragement, upon coffee cultivation in 1822, and yet, by your own showing and complaint, it has done nothing, and failed, in competition even with Brazil. The sugar works at Burdwan and elsewhere, under English adventurers, have long since been given up. I could mention other instances, yet, assuredly, no man of common fairness can dare to assert, that the restrictions of the *Company's charter* have had any thing to do with these failures! The speculations failed, much from the languor with which they were carried on; but more, in my opinion, from the want of proper field for their exercise.

about Calcutta like your carriages, and a few other such European luxuries; yet, on the whole, your trades are, as yet, patronised only by yourselves, and their introduction has occasioned a very slight sensation among the native community. Our common population, in fact, cannot afford to pay your artificers and mechanics, even if they possessed the desire to employ and encourage them; and as for the rich aristocracy, and wealthy portion of the natives of the country, you must await the good time, of fruit resulting from education and European knowledge, now slowly but effectually advancing to maturity, before you can expect that their patronage shall be applied to English skill and produce.

The term colonization, as connected with India, has been improperly used. This country can only be visited by respectable capitalists, who might select for settling the places most convenient for commerce, and which are generally the worst climates, that is the lower parts of the country where river-navigation is to be commanded. Between such respectable characters and the natives, an intercourse would probably take place that might prove advantageous to both; and, perhaps, the footing on which European merchants and the Parsees of Bombay stand towards each other, in regard to the cordiality and good feeling existing between them, might be fairly taken as an example of what might be expected from a more extended intercourse.

At present, an Englishman in India is utterly un-

fit for colonization, or settling, in its true and legitimate sense. He must have, in India, an easy and royal road to competency and wealth, or he flies from the pursuit; for he disdains, here, the patient, toiling and slow application of industry by which success is attained in his own country. The constant looking forward for home, instead of acting, it would seem, as a spur to proper activity, makes him regardless of any but a short and dashing cut to the object of his wishes. Gain must be showered on him in this climate, or he shrinks from exertion. During a voyage to the East, his views expand, and he lifts himself at once into a higher and different range of expectation. The lowly toiler on foot, in his native pathway, must here exhibit as an equestrian, or repose in the well-cushioned corner of his chariot; and, if the merchants of ancient Venice were princes, as I have heard,—here, we may truly assert, your English traders are not less princely in idea, nor less noble in their assumed bearing and avocations.

Where then, practically, is the chance, or even field, for success, in hastily throwing open Hindoostan to a host of such colonists and settlers. But you have often, loudly and grandiloquently, talked of your European capital, and of capitalists investing property in India. Let us look to this; for English capital, that is, wealth brought to India by your countrymen, would indeed present a new feature in your late intercourse with us. Hitherto, we



have seldom witnessed the phenomenon in question. The free trader has brought his goods to our market, but only to carry back *our* wealth in return; and not a portion of the proceeds was to be invested *in* Hindoostan. We have many wealthy and respectable merchants and planters in India: but if I assert that not five in fifty of them brought to us a single anna of capital, I am within the truth. Let us trace the history of almost every mercantile establishment in Calcutta. Some young men come out as clerks, or to join their connexions in India; openings occur, through the aid and influence of friends, and an infant establishment is projected; the connexions patronize them with advances; relations in the Company's service agree to support them by forwarding their savings, remitting their funds to the new house, and appointing the members of it their agents and bankers; monied men from the service, who have saved much, or who are of speculative and mercantile turn, perhaps join the establishment in due time, increasing its local capital, influence, and respectability. The house engages in indigo transactions, with the money which, as just shewn, it has at command. It purchases works, places young adventurers in occupancy or ownership, by nominally advancing the purchase-money on life security, mortgage on the concern, &c., the whole being a mere transfer on their books. Shipping becomes the property of the house in the same way. Correspondence and connexion have been

opened with influential houses in England, to which the partners generally retire, one by one, with all their wealth, as soon as gained, by the profits of their agency in India. And thus the Indian establishments, with exception of a very few houses only, have actually no real capital, save a fluctuating and borrowed one, the property of their constituents: while the wealth of their constituents is—what?—*our* native money or revenue, which, having paid your countrymen resident here, for ruling over and protecting us, is by them deposited in Calcutta, &c., for the interest there given, and to be made use of as capital, by your merchants, till opportunity shall occur to remit it to Europe, whenever the amount be sufficient to carry home its possessor.

Under this explanation, it is evident we have derived no capital from England. Your exports might be considered such, if we could grant you profitable returns—or could give, in exchange, an advantageous produce of our own. But though our produce forms part of such returns, yet it must be remembered, that indigo, for instance, gives little profit to India. The mere rearing and growing of the plant is but subsistence to the cultivator: the English manufacturer and Calcutta agent alone engross the profit, *and the result of such gain, too, eventually leaves us for England.* Lac dye bears the same explanation; and such is the nature of the returns which carry back the proceeds of your goods, and so limited are they, by Great Britain's prohibition of our best com-

modities, that it will be seen, the capital employed by Englishmen in India, (which, in truth, is but Indian capital under European management,) if it be productive, can bestow, in the East, only a shadow of its benefit.

If you, and other theorists, do truly mean that wealth is to be exported from Europe, to be left for ever in India for the purchase of lands, then the question is, simply—would it be politic for yourselves, and just towards us, so to employ your means? But if it be your meaning, that the investment of *capital* in estates shall merely be the extension of your present mode of employing Indian money in Calcutta and elsewhere, then I would ask, would it not be cruel to us, that *our* country's resources, and the fruits of our labour, be granted to your adventurers, for funds to outbid us in our own patrimonies and birth-places, or, in other words, that the produce we rear from our native field, be made, eventually, the very means to wrest from us the field itself?

Although it must be confessed also, that India would learn much from a more frequent intercourse with Europeans, and that indigo planters, in their present extent, (and they might be thrice as numerous, without evil, as far as concerns the effect of their personal and individual demeanour,) do confer much of the good, which might be expected from their intelligence, honourable conduct, and fair dealing; yet, if Europeans come, promiscuously, to

swarm here, to compete and struggle with each other, as well as with ourselves, the bright picture, which the present few gentlemen (about Tirhoot and Kessenaghur, for instance,) so pleasingly present, would soon be changed for a darker and less amiable one. The strangers would not, for many years, have the same immediate check of public opinion upon them as at home, nor even the more silent and domestic one of family ties and relations. Again, *all* could not succeed. What, then, are to become of the disappointed, the bankrupt, and the ruined? Are they to wander, unchecked, until despairing endeavours and crushed hopes, in a burning climate like this, have rendered them as reckless in conduct, as daring in their wild and vicious schemes, to support mere existence, or grasp at any lawless chance of redeeming their broken fortunes.

Another evil would be the extension, with English colonization, of the power of the Supreme Court, and the conflicting intermingling of British law with the Native Code, throughout a country utterly unfit for the hasty application of the former. Laws which may have been founded on justice and proper principles in Europe, or have arisen there from local adaptation to convenience, manners, the tenure of property, and a hundred other national and peculiar causes, may still be most injurious and unjust, if forced into operation in an Empire like India. The forms, deeds, doubts, technicalities, multiplying difficulties and expenses, of the various English

courts, would here be beneficial only to the already existing over-increase of professional gentlemen at the three presidencies.

A still greater calamity would be the dislocation of property,—the abrupt appearance of enterprising and change-essaying foreigners, as lords over the thousands of ancient ryots and cultivators of the soil. There would be little confidence, and the measure would spread around the dread of unfair purchases.

Another, but minor evil, resulting from the indiscriminate settlement of Englishmen among us, would be the indispensably necessary introduction of an European police throughout the provinces. The native Tannahs and police establishments are equal to the present calls on their interference: but every one who knows the common European's character in India, must be aware that the Hindoo would be no match for the excited and wild overbearing of your countrymen.

I might enumerate many, many such difficulties; but let me, for argument's sake, yield them all to the supposed benefits of your theory. Let me conceive them got rid of, or not existing, and your English emigrant quietly and happily in possession of one of our large Zumeendaries. To improve his chance of success, let me endue him with every good quality which characterises your nation. He is to be honest, kind in his nature, intelligent, liberal, a good man, and most worthy landlord. As he cannot hope abruptly to change the nature of the soil, or the

habits and character of his new tenantry, he wisely abstains from every rash innovation, waiting still with prudence and patience, for the proper season for the improvement and better cultivation of his property. Alas! his own moderation and endeavour at non-interference will not avail him; nothing will be permitted to emanate from him; and yet, without the watching and busy scrutiny of fifty eyes, or the busy controul of fifty hands, he cannot prevent the combinations of eternal imposition which are hourly practised on him. His native factors and gomastahs are intriguing on every side; he cannot dispense with them; they are in deep league with the ryots, and the ryots deeply leagued with each other. His neighbours, whether Hindoo or Mussulmaun, are as fond of litigation as they are well practised in it, and expert at bribing the underlings of the Zillah courts; they encroach on every side; and as every village has its patriarchal description of synod and internal parliament, without the sanction of which nothing be done, he will find that not a plough can be set in motion, nor a seed be sown, save only at the bidding and permission of every one of these village conclaves. But he has patiently put up with, or struggled through all, and having farmed the property himself,—he will at last find his two or three maunds of produce, per biggah, have cost him as much again as those of his native neighbours. He now finds, too, a portion only of the harvest saleable on the spot, and middlemen and agents entirely con-

troul him in every step of its disposal and destination. He wishes to send it to Calcutta ; but it can only move through his underlings. The very boatmen come into the league against him, till he has these, his own agents, the river gomastahs, the brokers, dealers, baboos, and first purchasers at the final mart, all—all in the combination, so that not a bag of the grain can elicit a sale till they have had their full advantage from it, or until their train of quiet, but most omnipotent opposition to the principal has done its worst, and their own profitable shares of the transaction have been fully realized and satisfied.

The above is by no means an unfaithful picture, and the difficulty it exhibits would be repeated in every stage of every transaction in which an European might endeavour to compete with a native. But this is not all—the same produce which would afford a moderate but sufficient profit to ourselves, would scarcely remunerate a settler of your country with bare subsistence.

Rice or corn would never pay an European settler. Let us select the finest or most productive rice district of Bengal—that of Backergunge, which furnishes annually twenty lacs of maunds of clean ballam, of which ten or twelve lacs of maunds are exported to Calcutta, and the remainder either consumed in the district, or disposed of at the neighbouring marts. The whole may roughly be assumed to give a total profit of six lacs of rupees to the

growers. There are about eight lacs of biggahs in rice cultivation in that district; and these we may again roughly divide into about three thousand tolerable farms, varying from one hundred to one thousand biggahs each. Supposing that an Englishman secure three farms of the largest extent, or, in all, three thousand biggahs, which is more than he could conveniently superintend himself;—on calculation, it would be found, that his profits or income would not exceed 200 rupees per mensem, or 240*l.* per annum; poor remuneration for an English adventurer, who, from this pittance, must build a residence, after his own style, to shield him from the climate, with all the other heavy expenses incident to an European in India.

To cultivate and manufacture sugar successfully, would probably require an additional outlay of £20,000 or £30,000, which, at the present duty, would hardly realize one per cent.; but if your government, influenced by considerations of sound policy and of consistency with their own general notions of free trade, would equalize the duties on the sugars of British India, with those of your West India and other settlements, (still leaving us subject to the disadvantages arising from our distance,) no doubt a salutary impulse would be given to our industry and capital, which would go far, in connection with the like encouragements to our other products, to improve our condition and increase our



sources, and, consequently, to enable us at no distant period of time, to become considerable consumers of your manufactures.

Cotton must be undertaken, too, on a grand scale. The extent of cultivation necessary would be perfectly unmanageable under any single European; and if the entire supervision of your countrymen be necessary for its proper picking, cleaning, and packing, the expenses would soon leave the proprietor a claimant only for the benefits of the new Bankrupt Act, as lately extended to this country.

Of indigo, there is even now an over-produce; and, to sustain the present prices, the speculators in Europe are praying for scanty and failing crops in Bengal. Unless, therefore, the consumption be considerably increased, the indigo line also would be a bad speculation for new adventurers.

For general merchants, factors, brokers, commission-agents, shop-keepers, and retailers, there cannot be any considerable increased opening for many years. The result of sales upon goods already shipped to India, sufficiently prove that trade, in this respect, has been seriously overdone. Any future improvement can be gradual only; and until such improvement positively take place, an addition to the number of your traders, resident in India, must be injurious to all parties. As for artificers and skilful mechanics, although their introduction would, doubtless, prove of essential use in

improving our own workmanship, and in rendering your community less dependent upon Europe\* for many luxuries and articles of common consumption; yet your artisans themselves, if led here in any numbers, could experience individually nothing but ruinous disappointment. A clever English millwright, or working engineer, will earn, I believe, in his own country more than three or four pounds per week, and other trades in the same proportion. India could afford to remunerate very few at this rate: there are neither sufficient manufactories, nor thriving works on hand, to warrant the expense. Again, the native work-people, who are very expert in common handicraft trades, are so moderate in their wages, compared with Europeans, that the latter would have to lower their expectations beneath what would leave emigration of value, to compete, even for a livelihood, with the artisans of India. With us, a first-rate lohar-mistree, (blacksmith,) competent in many superior branches of his calling, being, at the same time, a tolerable locksmith, worker in steel, gunsmith, and, in some cases, even jeweller and silversmith, is well paid at fixed wages of two gold mohurs (about three guineas) per *month*. I do not affect to place this man on a footing with yours, as to skill and workmanship, but he is far from contemptible even in these; and his wages,

\* This point, however, is scarcely desired by your advocates of the free trade!

we see, are but one-fourth of the others, who, besides, would naturally look for higher remuneration in a foreign settlement. A Hindoo, or Mussulmaan head carpenter, a capital workman, being a superior joiner also, with some talent at fine cabinet-making, and who would surprise an English mechanic with his skill in the higher branches of house-carpentry, is to be engaged in Bengal at less than thirty rupees (three pounds) per month.\* From eight to twelve rupees per month will procure as many common carpenters as may be required. A clever herald-painter, who can paint and *finish* carriages, and similar good work, so as to shame (as regards neatness and care) much of what reaches Calcutta from your metropolis, scarcely demands more than the head-carpenter. The simple fact is, that all these men can, and frequently do, live for three or four rupees each, for a whole month; a sum that your English mechanic would spend in beer and drink during one brief afternoon of it. Would not our natives then, in this and other points of view, be serious rivals of any numerous influx of your artificers?—Where would the latter find employment?—Say even that colonization would produce numerous manufactories in good time, and thus create a demand for your people; but with any such increase, you yourself argue, there must

\* Three times the sum would barely keep an English workman, of similar pretensions, in Calcutta.

be a corresponding improvement in our countrymen also ; while the cheapness of our means of labour must ever grant us the preference in the race with a stranger.

In whatever way, then, I consider the projected colonization or settlement of your countrymen in India, I arrive only at one conclusion. The plan of sending out purchasers of lands, capitalists, and skilful mechanics, seems, if not utterly unwise in principle, to be certainly unfeasible in practice. Even if sophistry can blind you to the injustice of dispossessing us of our lands and tenures, surely good sense should deter you from injustice and the infliction of injury, where it can bestow no remunerating or commensurate benefit on yourselves. If it is *our* good that you alone consult, let me bespeak your aid (and through the means of a reply to you, let me appeal to those who, in a short time, have to legislate for India,) to procure for us what, in my humble opinion, will be of more essential advantage to the British Eastern Empire than all your “ capital, skill, and intelligence,” in the mode in which you suggest their introduction.

In the first place, let us have the benefit of your nation in more widely diffusing EDUCATION throughout India. Much is now doing : our youth and minors are already far advanced beyond ourselves ; and when we, their elders and parents, are away, and are borne to the now hallowed banks of our

Ganges, methinks, their minds will rise superior to many of the trammels we, in our fathers' faith and ignorance, may necessarily have imposed on them ; and if, with better means of enquiry and investigation, they shall find, that *we have* lived and departed in error, who knows but the same Being, who rules the Indian and the White, may then select his own good time to let the blessings your teachers would tell of, spread even here also widely and triumphantly in the East. But I am touching on a subject unmeet for introduction from my pen : let me turn to benefits more immediately within the gift of your country.

Give us, then, under yourselves, a greater share in the government and internal management of our own people. Our ancient yearnings for change, and our remembrances of our own rulers, are fast subsiding. You should, by this time, be well acquainted with our characters and manners, and with the checks this knowledge can enable you to apply, surely there can be little danger in allowing some of us to participate in the honors and remuneration of power and employment. At present, all employment under government, save the very humblest, is shut out from the native ; and yet what could more improve us, or stimulate us to proper and honorable competition with yourselves, than leaving open some few of the distinctions and dignities of the country to its own inhabitants ? I

would say little here ; but I consider this of essential and vital importance as regards our real improvement and happiness as a nation.

There are points in our intercourse with England, in which your legislators might confer instant benefit on India. I am not sufficiently conversant with the principles of free trade (not *your* free trade, but trade in a general sense) to know why it would be departing from sound and legitimate liberal policy to prevent America (who deals roughly enough with you) from having nearly all the benefit of supplying England with cotton material. But if we *must* (must, I sadly repeat) see our domestic employment of the loom fail beneath your overwhelming manufactured exports, surely it would be simply fair to us, that you should protect our cotton by heavy duties on the American article. Do this, and a spur at once would be given to our growth of a more satisfactory material : we should then have some inducement to insure the proper cleaning and preparing of the whole. Your own shipping also would then find ample employment ; and, if the fact of the German cloths being so superior from our own material, prove that it is intrinsically good, (as I have asserted) then your manufacturer might exclusively use our cotton. England would be benefited by the measure, India be nourished and improved by it ; we could not then so justly reprove you for the injury now inflicted, nor desire that machinery even should be granted to ourselves.

If our means were thus increased, and ourselves somewhat more enriched, it stands to reason, that your own exportations would in time be better received here, and more extensively consumed by us. In the mean time, there is a local measure which I, a humble individual, should apologise to the authorities for suggesting; but which, I am sincerely convinced, after much reflection on the subject, would be beneficial to your country, and of advantage to ourselves. It will require to be explained with some detail; and I propose to close this address by a full description of my plan.

In all countries where commercial communication and trading enterprise have failed to reach their most successful extent, we find that the institution of periodical local fairs has been invariably attended with good effects. I understand, that in England, in early times, before the late intersection of your country by canals, and other easy methods for the quick transit of goods, your fairs formed the principal means by which an interchange of commodities took place, and, that now also the free fairs in Europe are most effectual in the speedy sale and circulation of goods in the inland parts of Germany, in France, the coasts of the Mediterranean, and chief cities of the continental countries.

Fairs having with you been anciently established by “grant, privilege, or proclamation,” and under the countenance and support of the government, I would propose that, under the sanction and au-

thority of the Supreme Government of India, periodical fairs of a few days' continuance, for the sale of European goods, should be established also at the principal cities of the Bengal Presidency. I treat of Bengal, at present, being personally acquainted with this Presidency only. Selection might be made of places of convenient access, where purchasers might numerously and easily attend. Thus Moorshedabad, Midnapore, Cuttack, Dacca, Chittagong, Patna, Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Fullyghur, Bareilly, Agra, Delhi, Saugor, Neemutch, Mhow, and a few other places,\* might be fixed upon at certain periods, with reference to the seasons and the convenient months for navigating the rivers, or for over-land communication, so that merchants and others carrying goods for sale might move readily from one fair to another, and to as many of them as might be advantageous to themselves.

The natives of India, as is well known, are at all times fond of thus supplying their wants. We resort much to fairs (or, as we term them, *mèlahs*) and common *Hauts* ;† therefore the thing will not be new, or likely to be misunderstood by us. I might append an enumeration of many useful minor fairs already in existence in almost every one of our provinces : and these would prove how easily our present *mèlahs* might be improved by your govern-

\* Bettiah, for instance, which would be well attended from Nepaul.

† Haut, market.



ment into marts of general and extensive profitable resort, to which European and native wholesale purchasers of investments would be induced, under official encouragement and protection, to convey proper selections for sale. At present, European supplies reach the upper provinces under no particular inducement, except the chance demand of a few dealers and natives connected with central India, or military officers and others; and, although there are capital shops at the principal stations, and English goods are even exposed for sale in the City Bazaars, yet there are no public pains taken to allure or induce our countrymen to make trial of your wares. Our habits naturally keep us aloof from the best receptacles for your goods—few natives venture into your station Europe shops; and, it is evident, that it requires more than the chance exposure of unknown foreign goods, in scattered situations, to encourage the native community of India to venture upon such full and general purchase as could be advantageous either to England or ourselves.

To give effect to the plan, the government would have, simply, to announce these intended periodical fairs—they might be called “*belatee mèlah*,”—(foreign fairs,) or by other appropriate name. It might be necessary, in the first instance, for the territorial secretary, or other functionary, to confer with, and procure the aid of some of the leading trading community in Calcutta, who would, doubtless, rea-

dily enter into such views. Instructions might then be issued to the civil authorities near each appointed fair, describing the object, and bespeaking their intervention, persuasion, and personal influence, with the chief natives of their district, calling on our influential zumeendars, residents, and landholders, for such reasonable support to the measure, as their good sense, and their own comforts and convenience, might induce them to bestow. Notices and timely advertisements of the fair should be beforehand widely disseminated, not only in the respective cities, but throughout the districts, generally, in the vicinity. At the place appointed, every aid, by the local authorities, should be granted. Boats should be passed clear of any river or other duties; and suitable spots selected, with reference to convenient ghauts, ferries, and other local facilities. For the principal valuable goods, the same precautions as those, which, I learn, are adopted in France, at their large provincial fairs, might well be adopted. Thus, a spot of about 300 by 100 yards, might be palisadoed round, or otherwise be secured by ditch and strong railing, or inclosed by a common *cutch* wall, so as to ensure safety from intrusion and depredation: two large gates, or entrances, being left at either end. The interior to be laid out in streets, with suitable temporary booths for the different traders, capable of being secured at night. These booths might all be constructed on a general approved plan, and carried on the boats by the mer-

chants, or be prepared by public officers at each station, and a small rent levied, sufficient to cover the expense. Each might be framed of plank, about twenty feet long and ten feet broad, with a common choppah roof, and part of the booth facing the street to be capable of being lifted up in the day, like a *jhaump*, and lowered and padlocked at night; the gates to be regularly opened and closed at stated hours, morning and evening; the place cleared at night, only certain trust-worthy and responsible brij-bassees suffered to remain inside, in general charge—and no fires, cooking, or smoking allowed: Military guards to be stationed at the gates, and around the enclosure, every evening; and the guard to be at hand, also, during the day, with proper civil and police authorities, for the preservation of the peace.

The goods which might be thus exposed for sale, with reasonable hope of going off, might consist of broad-cloths, serges, purpets, druggets, flannels, blankets, and woollens of all descriptions. There are few natives, in India, who would not prefer a couple of yards of coarse broad cloth, as a substitute for their present quilted *rassye*, *looie doputtah*, or common native blanket; but, at present, few have access to markets for its purchase, and the article is not sufficiently cheap in the upper provinces, *nor placed in the way* (if I may so explain myself) of my countrymen, so as to be abundantly at hand for general adoption and use. A good native covering,

of the descriptions I have just enumerated, would cost nearly as much as the coarse woollen; while the latter would outwear in durability three of the former. Cheap cutlery of various assorted descriptions, would answer;—razors, coarse knives, tools of various uses, Birmingham and Sheffield goods of certain kinds, and I may instance even buttons, to shew what may be done; for our Mussulmaun brethren do not dislike such things, as adornments to their vests, and cold weather jamahs. Cut-glass ware, in some cases, would suit; with mirrors, pictures, lustres, and fancy articles for the residences of rich natives; while minor things of various kinds, small looking-glasses, &c. &c. might please and allure the common class of purchasers. Steel, iron, lead,\* nails, screws, locks, tin-plates double and single, copper sheet and bolt, spelter in sheet and slab, brass, wire, hardware, tin and brass pots of proper varieties, and many other commodities might be sold, of which this slight enumeration will serve to present the idea.

To shew the more general value of these fairs, it should be remembered that European up-country residents and officers of the troops, would gladly resort to such markets for their annual wants, which they could thus cheaply select and lay in on the

\* Heavy articles might be kept on board the boats, and only musters or specimens be exposed at the booths. At certain stations, such as Mirzapore, there would be immense calls for them, for inland transit to the central provinces and countries.

spot, instead of depending on expensive established shops without competition, or sending for their supplies to Calcutta, with all the precariousness and risk of despatch to distant stations. Thus wines, teas, and articles for military messes and family consumption, might be more favourably secured at a fair than at present.

To induce the attendance of natives, their own goods, to a limited and proper extent, might also be admitted, particularly such as, from their general request and non-interference with the immediate and real object of this Europe mart, might lure numbers to the fair. Sights, shows, and recreations might be permitted for our countrymen, at a little distance, while races might be instituted for the Europeans: to give general utility and attraction to the fair, the sale of horses, particularly from the government studs, and the sale of elephants, camels, and army carriage cattle generally, might be encouraged and promoted with advantage.

If the Moorshedabad fair were ordered at the end of June, the opening of the river would admit of boats proceeding from Calcutta in proper time. The same boats might then reach Patna for a *mèlah* in August. It is true, these months are subject to the periodical rains; but the appropriation of any spare public buildings might obviate the difficulty. But both these stations, and Cuttack, Midnapore, Dacca, and Chittagong, could be arranged for, at any time, direct from Calcutta. Boats, after quitting

Patna, might enable fairs to be held at Benares, in September ; Allahabad, in October ; Cawnpore, the following month ; and, to ensure those of Agra, Delhi, Bareilly, and other places, in the proper season, boats and supplies might branch off as required.

It is true, for some years, the plan might not largely succeed ; but as our power of purchasing your commodities would increase by means of your hoped-for legislative encouragement to our industry on our own soil, and to our native produce,—we might gradually become purchasers. Where the general aim is so widely beneficial, temporary slight failure, to secure future extended sales, should not dishearten. Responsible natives might answer for the charge and sale of the goods ; and few Europeans would be necessary to accompany them. Traders should, at first, send goods cautiously, and essay only with such *assortments* of staple and sure demand, that, even under failure for a time, by allowing the goods to remain in the interior, they might eventually go off. Whether government might find it expedient farther to assist the measure, is not for an individual to judge ; but still, without any pecuniary sacrifice of moment, it might, by public and opportune patronage to those embarked, by the remission, at first, of portions of import duties on *Fair commodities*, and by affording facilities to the dealers as well as the frequenters of the fairs, effectually promote a good result.

I now take my leave. If, in my reply to your pamphlet, I may seem at times to have treated the subject more lightly, nay, more flippantly even than its importance has deserved, I beseech the pardon of my general reader. To yourself little explanation is necessary. I have endeavoured to refute much of your reasoning, and, although I assert not that I am right, yet I may have been the humble means of inducing others more capable than myself to investigate more closely your publication, and thus more truly appreciate your statements. In laying down my pen, I have at least one consolation,—however it may have failed, yet in its employment in these pages, I may truly say, in the language of the East, “*My* right hand hath not turned against the country of my refuge, nor *my* tongue reviled the salt of my protector.”

DESH-U-LUBUN OCHARIK.

CALCUTTA,

15th June, 1829.

THE END.

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# APPENDIX.



Since the foregoing pages were finally at press, we have seen an Article in the *Asiatic Journal* of the present month, (Jan. 1830,) on the “FREE IMPORT TRADE FROM INDIA,” which so completely bears out the view taken by our native Author of the inadequacy of present Imports, and failure of Returns from India, that we take the liberty of appending an Extract.

## “ THE FREE IMPORT TRADE FROM INDIA.

“ THE ‘ suspicious tacitunity’ (to use the phrase of a writer in one of our daily papers) maintained by the free-trade party on the subject of their imports from India, whilst they are incessantly stunning us with noisy declamations about the increased amount of their exports to that country, has induced us to set on foot a careful inquiry into this part of the question, in order to ascertain a fact, which forms a very material link in the chain of evidence, as to whether the free-trade with India has been beneficial to the country, or the contrary.

“ Mr. Whitmore informed the House of Commons, in his extraordinary speech on the 14th May last, that the value of the goods imported by the free-traders since the opening of the trade, had increased one million sterling. The strange misconceptions and mis-statements in that speech \* might very justly have imbued us with doubt and suspicion as to every statement contained in it ; but such an admission as this, namely, that whilst the export trade had quadrupled, the import trade had augmented only about one-fourth in fourteen years (the East-India Company’s imports in the preceding fourteen years having nearly doubled), was of itself sufficient to overthrow the inferential argument which the honorable gentleman laboured to deduce from his figures.

“ Desirous, however, not to leave any part of this question unexplored, we have obtained an account, which may be relied upon as perfectly accurate, of the actual value of the goods imported from the ports eastward of the Cape of Good Hope (exclusive of China) by the East-India Company, and by private traders respectively, from the year 1814, when the trade was opened, to the year 1828, both inclusive. We subjoin this account, which, with others not yet before the public, will hereafter place many of the commercial points belonging to this great question in a perfectly new light.

*An Account of the Value of all Goods imported from the different Ports and Places situated to the Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, including the Mauritius, but exclusive of China, computed according to the actual Prices of the Goods in each Year.*

	By the East-India Company.	By Private Traders.	Total.
	£.	£.	£.
Year 1814	4,208,079	4,435,196	8,643,275
— 1815	3,016,556	5,119,611	8,136,167
— 1816	2,027,703	4,402,082	6,429,785
— 1817	2,323,630	4,541,956	6,865,586
— 1818	2,305,003	6,901,144	9,206,147
— 1819	1,932,401	4,683,367	6,615,768
— 1820	1,757,137	4,201,389	5,958,526
— 1821	1,743,733	3,031,413	4,775,146
— 1822	1,092,329	2,621,334	3,713,663
— 1823	1,587,078	4,344,973	5,932,051
— 1824	1,194,753	4,410,347	5,605,100
— 1825	1,462,692	4,716,083	6,178,775
— 1826	1,520,060	5,210,866	6,730,926
— 1827	1,612,480	4,068,537	5,681,017
— 1828	1,930,107	5,135,073	7,065,180

\* The speech has been published by Mr. Whitmore, and is therefore a legal subject of criticism



"We have here exhibited an account of all the imports from all places; and even so stated, the account offers a direct contradiction to Mr. Whitmore's assertion, inasmuch as the average of the two years, 1827 and 1828, shews a *falling off* instead of an *increase*, in comparison with the average of the two years, 1814 and 1815, limiting our examination to the column containing the imports of the private traders only. But this is not the proper mode of looking at the statement: the Company have ceased to trade with India since they have had to encounter the competition of adventurers who sell their goods at 20 per cent. below prime cost; their imports are made merely for the convenience of remittance on political account; and, strange to say, the amount of their chief articles has increased! To judge, therefore, of the trade fairly, we must consider the private traders as having absorbed, as, indeed, they tell us they have done, the whole commerce; and with this consideration in our minds, then, let us examine the statement. Further: the imports in the three or four last years have been swelled by the enormous quantity of Mauritius sugar thrown into this country, in consequence of the reduction of the duty on that species of produce in that particular part of the East. It is absolutely requisite, in order to acquire a correct notion of what has been the effect of opening the trade upon the import branch of it, to subtract the value of that article of importation from the aggregate amount of imports. The value of Mauritius sugar imported in 1825 was about £185,000; in 1826, about £319,000; in 1827, about £360,000; and in 1828, about £600,000.

"Now let us see what are the results of this boasted free-trade, as indicated by the returns made from India for the exports, sent thither from England. When the free-trade began, India exported to England goods to the amount of £6,389,721, the average of the years 1814 and 1815. After fourteen years, when the quantities of goods imported by India from England had more than quadrupled, India exported in return goods to the amount of only £5,893,098, the average of the years 1827 and 1828, that is, two millions and a half less than it did when it imported only a fourth part of the goods now carried to India! Why, what a state of things is this! Surely none but men actually insane can be further imposed upon by the impudent charlatans, who are preaching to the country what they know, or ought to know, is false.

"Let us put the subject in such a familiar shape, that it may be understood by a plain tradesman or artisan, classes upon whom, we are sorry to find, the fallacies of the free-trade party are working with dangerous rapidity. Suppose a person in a retail business parted with a quantity of goods from his shop, on credit, to various persons, to the amount of £10,000 in a year; suppose that every one of his customers paid him in the shape of a dividend on their estates, as bankrupts, or of a *carte blanche*, as insolvents, so that in return for his £10,000 he received £1,000; how long would he be able to keep his shop open? Would he think it a sufficient satisfaction to a party desirous of knowing the exact state of his business, to show the account of the quantity of goods he had parted with? Would the party not desire to see likewise the accounts of returns and profits?

"The example we have put is analogous, or nearly so, to that of the India trade. The value of the imports, that is, the returns for the commodities exported, should, unless there exists a substantial reason to the contrary, represent not merely the first value of the latter, but the profits attending the sale, the multiplied expenses of exportation and importation, commission, interest of money, &c., or the transaction is a losing one. Undoubtedly, there are other modes of remitting the profits upon a commercial transaction than by merchandize; but in a country like India, not productive of bullion, and where, for obvious reasons, bills on Europe bear a very high premium, merchandize must be a more convenient mode of return. At all events, when we find that the export trade to India has augmented four-fold, and the import trade, instead of augmenting, is diminishing, it presents an enigma which might, perhaps, be difficult of solution, were we not fortunately furnished with ample means, in the list of prices at which British exports have been selling in the India market, and in the failures upon failures amongst the exporters in England and Scotland.

"How delusive, then, are all the inferences from the increased exports to India! Yet the arguments against the renewal of the exclusive privileges of the East India Company rest solely upon the supposed prosperity and progressive improvement of the free-trade!

\* \* \* \* \*

"We shall conclude with a simple comparative statement of the free export and import trade at the present time.

"In the two last years, ending 5th January, 1829, the value of the exports from the United Kingdom to India (including the Mauritius) was £9,056,643, giving an average of £4,528,321 per annum. In those years, the imports, excluding the Company's remittances, amounted to £9,203,610, averaging £4,601,805 per annum. The additional value obtained by the free-traders, therefore, amounts to one and five-eighths per cent., out of which vast profit are to be defrayed commission in England and India, freight out and freight home, duties, shipping-charges, &c. &c.

"Is any thing more requisite to show the real state of the free trade with India?"





